

THE SIRAIKI LANGUAGE OF CENTRAL PAKISTAN

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR

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School of Oriental and African Studies
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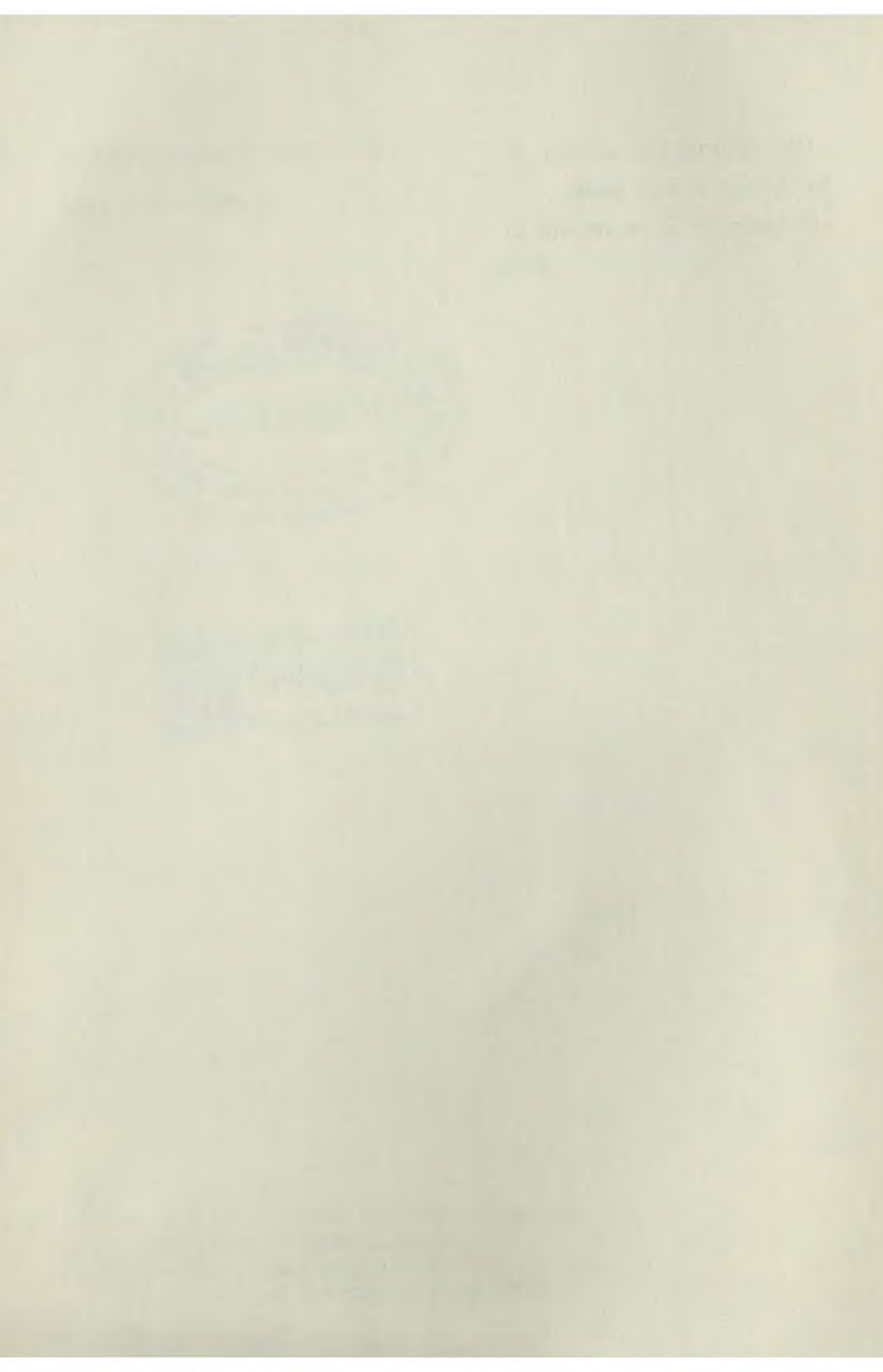


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/Alif hiko him bas ve miã ji
hor kihani mul na bhani
Alif gyom dil khas ve miã ji/
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PREFACE

The present work first developed while I was engaged in the study of Siraiki Sufi poetry, and an outline grammar compiled from secondary sources was included in my Ph.D. thesis, submitted to the University of London in 1972. The field-work necessary to proceed further with the subject was undertaken on study-leave from the School of Oriental and African Studies in the period January-April 1974, when I was able to spend time in the major centres of the Siraiki-speaking area in Pakistan; this was supplemented by a brief return visit in March 1975.

A scholarly project of this kind, extending over several years, has obviously involved seeking assistance from many other people. Several colleagues at the School have been generous with their time and expertise, while my particular thanks are due to Professor J. C. Wright, both for his supervision of my thesis and for his subsequent help and encouragement.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Publications Committee of the School for meeting the full cost of publication of this book.

In Pakistan so many people gave freely of their time and assistance that it would be impossible to thank them all individually. I should however like to mention the particular kindness of Mr. Ilyas Ishqie, formerly Regional Director, Radio Multan, and of Mr. Khan Rizwani, Multan correspondent of *Daily Jang*: to thank Seth Obeidur Rahman and the Siraiki Adabi Majlis, Bahawalpur, and Mr. Ghulam Rabbani and the Sindi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, for their hospitality and their gifts of indispensable books and permission to quote from these; and to thank Mr. Barda Sindhi for his patient answers to my inquiries. I am grateful to Mr. Umar Kamal Khan of Multan for arranging the calligraphy to be done for the table on p. 41.

My thanks are due above all to Dr. Mahar Abdul Haq of Multan, without whose invaluable guidance this work could never have achieved its present form, and without whose friendly reception, which went far beyond that which could be expected by a fellow-Ph.D. in Siraiki, my field-trips would have been so much less rewarding and enjoyable.

London

Christopher Shackle

September 1975

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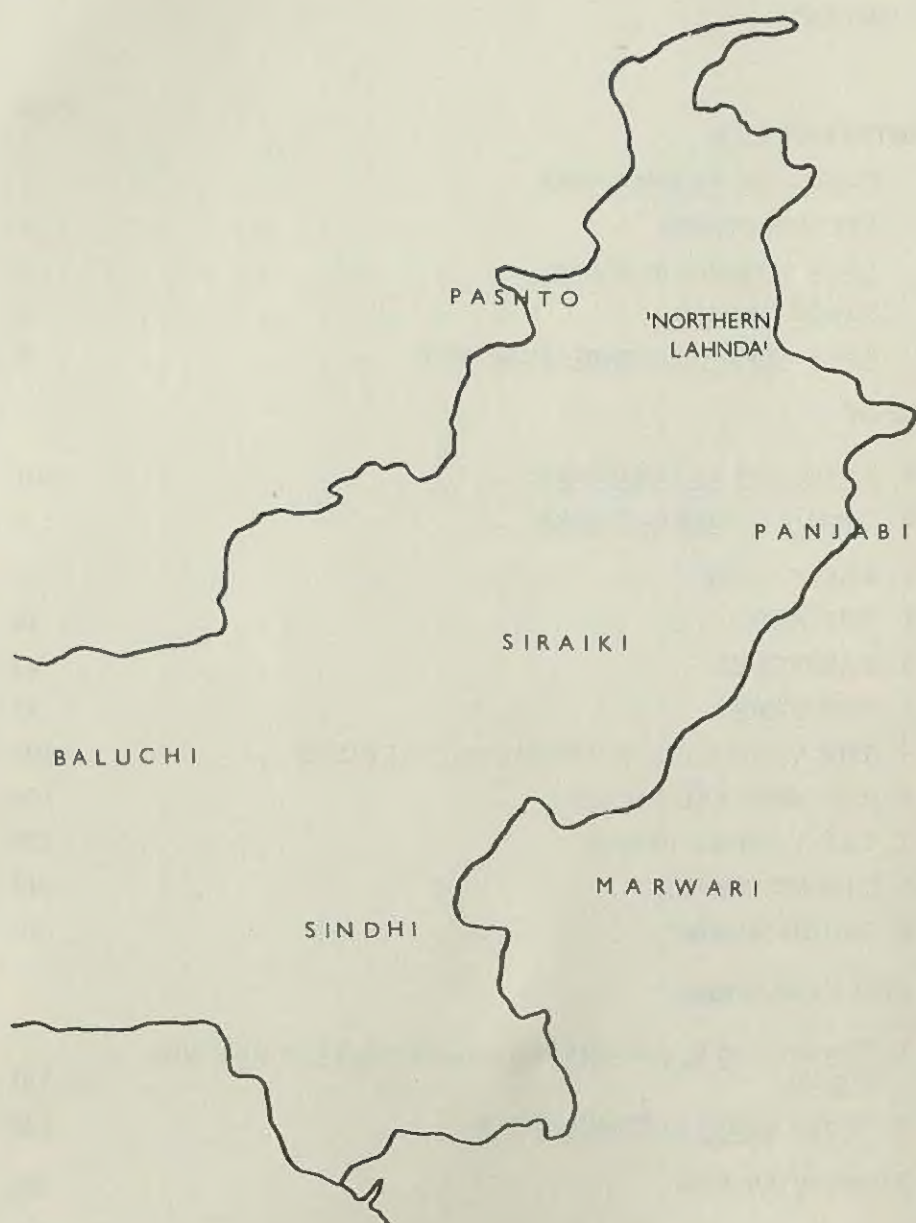
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MAP 1

Siraiiki and its neighbours

INTRODUCTION

As its title indicates, this book contains a descriptive account of Siraiki, the Indo-Aryan speech of a large part of central Pakistan, which may be more familiar to some readers under the names of 'Multani', 'Southern Lahnda', or even 'Western Panjabi'.

The language is described from the viewpoint of a South Asianist rather than of a general linguist, and the book is primarily addressed to the needs of a similar audience. The terms in which the description is conducted are thus largely traditional, in order to facilitate comparisons. Since the author's linguistic interests lie chiefly in the field of sociolinguistics, an effort has been made to define as far as possible, both generally in this introduction as well as at specific points in the body of the work, the social background of the language being described. Particular attention is also paid to the multilingual environment in which Siraiki is used. Some of the distortions common in many accounts of the less standardized regional languages of South Asia as if they were homogeneous standards of the Urdu or Hindi type will, it is hoped, therefore be avoided.

Siraiki and its neighbours

The Pakistan Census has never taken separate account of Siraiki. It is therefore impossible to estimate accurately the number of speakers, but they probably number at least 15, 000, 000.

The Siraiki-speaking area lies in the central part of Pakistan, on either side of the Indus from approximately 28°N to 33°N, and including the lower reaches of the Chenab and Sutlej; this corresponds to the south-western part of Panjab province and the adjacent areas.

The position of the area is indicated on Map 1 (facing), on which the neighbouring languages are also marked. It will be seen that Siraiki lies on the western edge of the Indo-Aryan language-area, the boundary with the Iranian Pashto and Baluchi being well defined by the Suleiman range. To the south-east the natural boundary of the Thar desert, now reinforced by the political frontier between Pakistan and India, separates Siraiki from the Marwari dialects of Rajasthan. Relationships between Siraiki and these three languages are not explored in the present work, although there are some obvious connexions in the Indo-Aryan direction, as in the case of the sigmatic future, shared by Siraiki with Marwari and Gujarati.

Somewhat less clearly marked are the boundaries with Sindhi, at the narrowing of the Indus valley between mountain and desert near the present provincial frontier between Panjab and Sind, and with the Northern Lahnda dialects, along the southern edge of the

Salt Range: while to the east there is no natural boundary whatsoever between Siraiki and Panjabi. From the viewpoint of historical comparison, Northern Lahnda and Panjabi are the languages most closely related to Siraiki, which also shares other features exclusively with Sindhi. Relationships between Siraiki and these neighbours therefore call for further comment, particularly those which involve direct contact and influence.

Not only is the natural boundary with Sindhi quite well marked and reinforced by a long-standing political frontier, but there are also many clearcut linguistic differences between the two. These divisions have, however, been partly blurred by the extensive migration of Siraiki-speaking groups, principally Baloch tribes, southwards into Sind from the 16thc. until the 19thc. As a result Siraiki is spoken by perhaps 25% of the population of Sind, nowadays usually bilingually with Sindhi.

It is this situation which gave rise to the term 'Sirāikī', most plausibly explained as 'the language of the north' (< Sindhi *siro* 'up-river, north'). In recent years this term has come to be extensively adopted in the main Siraiki-speaking area, thus enabling one to dispense with the confusingly varied earlier terminology, including vague terms such as 'Jatki' or 'Hindki', local names such as 'Multani', the 'Derewal' of Dera Ghazi Khan or the 'Riyasati' of Bahawalpur, as well as philologists' inventions without any local currency like Grierson's 'Southern Lahnda'.

For the less homogeneous dialects to the north there is still no very satisfactory substitute for 'Northern Lahnda', although 'Pothohari' is somewhat misleadingly coming to be so used in Pakistan. While obviously close, the relationships between Siraiki and these northern dialects could only be more precisely defined after detailed work in the field, and will not be here enlarged upon, since no situation of direct contact or significant mutual influence prevails.

The relationship of Siraiki with Panjabi is the most complex of all. As a consequence of the absence of any natural boundary between the two language-areas, there are several intermediate dialects which contain features of both. Moreover, the situation was further confused by the transfer of populations during the Partition of 1947. The Siraiki-speaking Hindu minority was expelled to India: their language, which has a few distinctive features, will be considered only in passing. In their place came a large influx of Muslim refugees from eastern Panjab: their numbers are considerable, especially when added to those of the Muslim colonists from eastern districts attracted by the opening of large areas to cultivation by the extension of irrigation. The present situation in the central Siraiki area, with its large Panjabi-speaking population, is thus in some ways a mirror-image of that in Sind, where Siraiki-speakers are a large minority. In the cities and towns of the area, particularly, Siraiki is now exposed to major influence from Panjabi, just as it has long been to influence from Sindhi in Sind. It is in res-

ponse to this challenge from Panjabi that there has recently arisen a Siraiki language movement, which is described elsewhere (Shackle: 1977).¹

Lastly, Urdu has been for well over a century the official language of administration and education in the Panjab, as well as the chief vehicle for all types of writing. As the dominant standard of the area, it too has naturally exercised its influence, and it will be necessary to pay attention to this as well as to influences from Panjabi and Sindhi in the description of modern Siraiki.

Previous studies

The serious investigation of the language did not begin until the British conquest of the area, although there are scattered references in older sources and short Persian-Siraiki glossaries were compiled for educational purposes.

The first published account is that of Burton: 1849, which derives from his experience as an officer of the Sindh Survey. Aided by his knowledge of Sindhi, Burton provides a clear and comprehensive account of the Siraiki of Upper Sind, accurate in most details, although including large numbers of variant forms without local reference. As would be expected, his ethnological observations on the Siraiki-speaking groups in Sind are of considerable interest: his own concern with the language was apparently stimulated by a belief that the Gypsies originated from the area, but his intention to develop his article into a book remained unfortunately unfulfilled.

After Burton, the language was described from the background of experience in the Panjab. Brief accounts appeared at intervals in the Settlement Reports of the relevant Districts (1876-1894). More substantial is the account of O'Brien: 1881. Himself Settlement Officer of Muzaffargarh District and making use of notes collected by his colleague in Multan, O'Brien compiled a useful word-list, supplemented by a collection of rustic sayings and proverbs, and prefaced by a brief and ill-organized grammatical sketch.

The first missionary contribution was that of Bomford: 1895. C.M.S., representative in Multan, he provided a fairly comprehensive description of the language, although it is both prolix and somewhat haphazardly arranged. Bomford: 1897, while again confused in arrangement, has remained hitherto the fullest study of the Siraiki pronominal suffixes.

Fresh material was provided by another official, Wilson, in his grammar and glossary of the dialect of Shahpur which includes comparative material from other areas (Wilson: 1899). Handicapped only by a confusing vowel-notation that records sub-phonemic differences, this book is well organized, providing a clear outline of

¹ Full references for the works cited are provided in the Bibliography.

the grammar and of the main points of difference from central Panjabi.

Jukes: 1900 is the first full bilingual dictionary. Apart from the knowledge acquired during the course of his long residence as a C.M.S. missionary in Dera Ghazi Khan, Jukes drew upon the glossaries compiled by O'Brien and Wilson and was able to produce a very solid work. For the first time, the distinctive implosive consonants of Siraiiki are systematically recorded. This dictionary, which is prefaced by a very brief grammatical note, remains an indispensable work of reference.

Another work which has remained standard hitherto is Wilson's revision of O'Brien's book (O'Brien: 1903). In this the glossary is re-arranged and a grammar on the pattern of Wilson's Shahpuri grammar is added. While otherwise substantially the same as the original, the revised version is of more practical use. It is the last book to have been written on the language in English.

It was upon the work of these amateurs that Grierson, the first serious philologist to direct his attention to the languages of the area, was able to begin the task of describing their genetic relationships. Grierson was first drawn to note similarities with Sindhi and Kashmiri by Bomford's work: in the same article (Grierson: 1895), he drew a distinction between the language of the western Panjab and that of the central and eastern districts, a distinction he elaborated further when he turned to the compilation of the relevant volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI: 1916, 1919). Briefly, Grierson distinguished Panjabi sharply from 'Lahnda', an invented term for the languages of the western Panjab. While the making of this distinction, previously only vaguely adumbrated, was valuable and important, Grierson's sub-division of 'Lahnda' has not found much acceptance: it is particularly unfortunate that he chose Shahpuri as his standard, doubtless having been misled into this false classification of what is in fact a peripheral dialect by the superior quality of Wilson's description. The descriptive material in the LSI is secondary in nature and not of much value.

By far the most valuable study of the language after the LSI is that of Bahl: 1936, the thesis of a Multani Hindu, which is devoted to the phonetic and historical analysis of the implosive consonants, whose incidence and distribution in the language are at last clearly defined. It is unfortunate that this work does not seem to have become widely known, probably due to its having been written in French.

Other subsequent work has been chiefly concerned with the modification of Grierson's awkward classification of the 'Lahnda' dialects. Both Varma: 1936 and Bahri: 1962, 1963 are concerned primarily with the northern dialects, but put forward trenchant criticisms of his overall classification. The theme is also taken up in Smirnov: 1970, in which a more reasonable re-ordering of the dialects is advanced: the bulk of the book is, however, basically a

further rendering (into Russian) of the secondary material of the LSI. Finally Rossi: 1974, while making some valid criticisms of Smirnov, is again hampered by reliance upon the same dated sources.

Writing in western languages has thus become rather fixed into an increasingly sterile debate about the internal classification of 'Lahnda': but for this debate to be meaningfully pursued, fresh data are needed. It is hoped that the present work will serve towards this end.

In India and Pakistan, too, not very much fresh material seems to have been produced, although much energy has been devoted to the interpretation of existing material for semi-political purposes. Panjabi writing in both countries minimizes differences from Panjabi, just as it seeks to maximize differences between Panjabi and Hindi or Urdu. Sindhi writing, on the other hand, tends to over-emphasize the closeness of Siraiki to Sindhi: but Advani: 1956 is interesting on the influence of Siraiki upon the northern dialect of Sindhi.

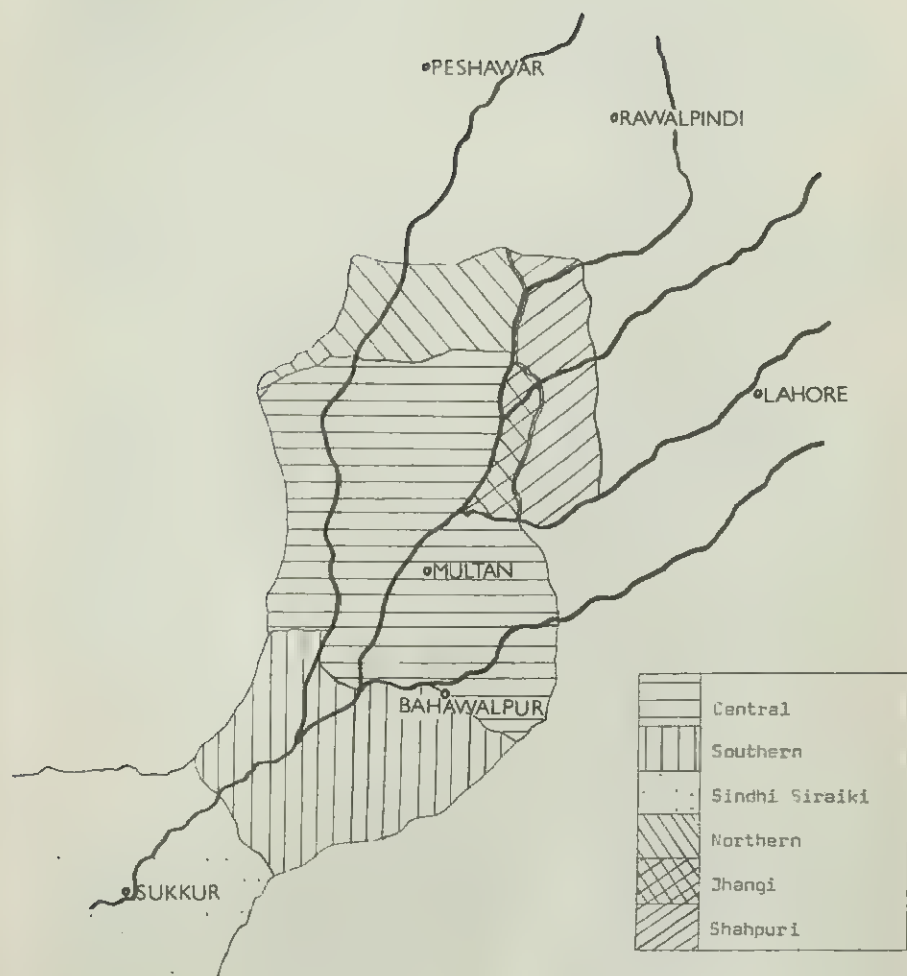
The writings of Siraiki-speakers themselves are often vitiated by excessively inflated claims for the language, as for example Ikramul Haq: 1963, or by a disregard for Indo-Aryan philology in the search for a more ancient pedigree. Some short grammatical sketches, designed as elementary primers, have appeared: these include Razi: 1933, Vahid: 1953 and Zami: 1964. A few other titles are noted in the Bibliography, while some articles of interest have also appeared in the Siraiki journals *Sirāikī Adab Multān* and *Sirāikī* (published in Bahawalpur). By far the most solid contribution is the Urdu study of Abdul Haq: 1967, in which a study of the earlier Muslim sources and of western writing is combined with fresh material in a way which, it is to be hoped, will be further developed locally.

Local varieties of Siraiki

As has been made clear, the subject of the classification of the dialects of 'Lahnda' is not one to be entered into lightly. A still further classification, albeit of the southern dialects only, is advanced here with some reluctance, tempered to be sure by the conviction that the systems previously advanced do not always fit the facts on the ground.

Our classification of the local varieties of Siraiki is shown in Map 2 (overleaf). These varieties are to be regarded as broad regional groupings of localized dialects and are differentiated on the basis of a few simple shibboleths. The areas indicated by shading on the map are provisional only: much more detailed field-work would be required for their outlines to conform precisely with configuration of geographically pin pointed isoglosses. The mapping of geographical features has therefore been intentionally restricted to show only the rivers and principal cities.

Somewhat more precise indications as to the geographical dis-



MAP 2

Local varieties of Siraiki

tribution of the six varieties distinguished are given in the following account of their relative importance, which also notes the attention given to each in previous studies as well as that which will be accorded them here.

1) Central variety [abbreviated as C]

This covers the Districts of Multan and Muzaffargarh and the northern parts of Dera Ghazi Khan and Bahawalpur. This is the largest of the six areas, with the greatest Siraiki-speaking population, although it is also an area of major Panjabi-speaking immigration. The importance of this variety is further enhanced by having within its area the city of Multan, the principal urban centre of the entire region for at least a millenium. This variety is best known as 'Multani' and is so described in the LSI and by Smirnov.

2) Southern variety [abbreviated as S]

This includes Rahim Yar Khan District, the southern parts of Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan and the extreme southern tip of Muzaffargarh. This is a smaller area than that of C, also one poorer and more remote, hence less open to outside influence. There are some differences between the dialects on either bank of the Indus, but these are much less significant than the overall contrast of S with C. Although there are fewer speakers of S, it has had almost equal importance with C as a literary vehicle, partly due to its dominant position in the former princely state of Bahawalpur, merged with Pakistan in 1954 but still an area of deeply rooted local consciousness: the language of Bahawalpur city, on the border between C and S, reflects however a blending of forms.

S is not coherently described in the LSI and is neglected by Smirnov: due attention is here given to it for the first time in English. Our own account of Siraiki is based upon C, but detailed consideration is also given to S where this differs, since these two varieties predominate in writing and in educated speech. S differs from C in its closer realizations of some mid-front vowels, in having a distinctive case-morpheme for the oblique plural of nouns and pronouns, and in many minor features of the morphology of the verb, including the conjunctive participle, the second person singular tense-morpheme, and several forms of the present auxiliary and its contractions.

3) Sindhi Siraiki [abbreviated as SiS]

This is spoken all over Sind, especially in the north: the influence of Sindhi becomes increasingly marked towards the south, in proportion with the decreasing density of Siraiki speakers. Since SiS is a language of immigration, there is a considerable mixing of dialects, the speech of some groups being obviously closely based on C, others following S. SiS now functions chiefly as a home language and is normally used bilingually with Sindhi, but it was formerly a language

of considerable literary importance. SiS is briefly described, as 'Siraiki Hindki', in the LSI: the principal points of difference with C and S are here treated together in an outline account (Chapter 9).

The Siraiki spoken in Baluchistan, especially in Sibi and Kacchi Districts, is not dealt with here.

4) Northern variety [abbreviated as N]

This area includes the Districts of Mianwali and of Dera Ismail Khan in N-WFP, a rather remote and underdeveloped region, whose language has not been culturally prominent. N appears to resemble C quite closely, but shares some features with the adjacent Northern Lahnda dialects, notably in the frequent rounding of post-tonic short vowels in disyllabic words: it has some extension further north as a lingua franca in the Pashto-speaking areas. N is briefly described in the LSI, following Wilson, as 'Thali', a term retained by Smirnov: only isolated forms of N are noted in our account.

5) Jhangi

Spoken over a large part of Jhang District, this variety shows some peculiar features of its own, especially in phonology (where the preference for implosives and the use of a true dental implosive are distinctive), as well as a mixture of forms characteristic of the surrounding areas. The LSI accords Jhangi very summary treatment, and here too it receives only passing mention.

6) Shahpuri

This is the language of Sargodha District and parts of Jhang and Lyallpur. While it shares some features with C, this variety would now be generally and correctly regarded as a variety of Panjabi with Siraiki features, and Grierson's description of it as 'the central (standard) dialect of Lahnda' is a quite misleading labelling of what is in fact an intermediate variety. Since Shahpuri has been well described (Wilson: 1899) and occupies a marginal position in relation to Siraiki proper, it does not receive further mention.

Siraiki literature

The principal literary language of the region was Persian until its replacement in the last century by Urdu in the Panjab and by Sindhi in Sind. Writing in the local languages long remained restricted to a few genres of poetry. Moreover, the language of the older texts from the Panjab, for which contemporary MSS are usually lacking, is for the most part clearly of mixed character, open to claims from present-day enthusiasts both for Panjabi and for Siraiki, but not properly to be reduced to either alternative. Mention may however be made of the *Śalok Farīd* incorporated in the *Adi Granth* (1604), whose language is examined in Shackleton: 1977.

Only in the troubled political conditions of the 18thc., when the Mughal empire was split into rival independent states, does a clear

tradition of distinctively Siraiki writing emerge. This literature was until recently almost entirely in verse, the bulk of it devoted to Islamic themes. Three main centres of literary activity are to be distinguished.

In Upper Sind there was an early florescence of writing in Siraiki under the Siraiki-speaking Talpur Mirs. Particularly notable is the ecstatic mystical poetry of Sachal Sarmast of Khairpur (1739-1827), and the verbally brilliant humorous verse of Hammal Khan Leghari (d. 1879). The language of these and other poets, all of whom also wrote in Sindhi, is typically SiS, i.e., forms from both C and S are freely used and the influence of Sindhi is clearly discernible. In the present century the increasing emphasis on the use of Sindhi has not encouraged the use of Siraiki in Sind for either traditional or modern types of literature.

In Multan and the surrounding regions a tradition of Sufi writing persisted, though with decreasing vigour, throughout the 18thc. and 19thc., beginning with Ali Haidar (1690-1785). The most distinctive contribution from this region is however the Shiite elegy (*marsiya*): composed in a mixture of prose and verse, this is a genre for which Siraiki, typically C, is regarded as the appropriate language in other parts of the Panjab also.

Bahawalpur, separately administered as a princely state until 1954, was the home of a third parallel tradition, among whose works is the most popular Siraiki narrative poem, Lutf Ali's *Saifalnāma* (1781), adapted from a tale in *The Thousand and One Nights*. The dominant figure in this tradition is however that of Khwaja Ghulam Farid (1845-1901), the last great Sufi poet in the long tradition of mystical writing in the local languages of the Indus valley. His mystical hymns (*kāfī*), many of which relate closely to the life and scenery of the local desert areas, are the particular glory of the Siraiki literary heritage, and continue to exercise their influence upon subsequent poetry.

No remotely comparable figure has emerged in the years since the death of Khwaja Farid, whose poetical language is again a mixture of C and S. In recent years there has been a great expansion in the use of Siraiki in the Multan-Bahawalpur area, and the language is beginning to be used for a much wider range of purposes than hitherto, including creative prose fiction. Again, a mixture of C and S is to be found, with the latter predominating only in Bahawalpur.

Detailed histories of the literature are provided by Jampuri: 1969 and Haidari: 1971, while a more summary account in English is included in Shackle: 1972.

Scope and arrangement of the book

It will be apparent from what has been said so far about the position of the language that it would not be realistic to describe

Siraiki as if it were exactly like the substantially standardized norms of Hindi or Urdu, with their comprehensive written traditions. The purpose of this book is, nevertheless, to describe a 'standard' Siraiki, so far as this is possible, with the realization that the attempt must involve some rather arbitrary definitions.

The language here taken as 'standard' is that of careful educated speech, as used between male speakers in the cities. Informants were deliberately selected from this class, whose speech naturally corresponds very closely with the language of most modern prose writings. The standard described is in most respects adequate also as a description of the language of earlier Siraiki literature, except in so far as this is governed by poetic conventions. Even within this definition of a standard it is necessary to take account of local varieties, principally C and S (forms common to both being described where appropriate as CS), and of the influence of contact languages, whether Urdu (U) and Panjabi (P), or Sindhi (Si).

The standard described will in most respects cover the speech of many townswomen, although the strict observance of purdah in the cities of the region probably results in a greater conservatism in women's speech. But at least two varieties must be excluded from the standard as defined here: these are uneducated rustic speech, especially that of countrywomen, and the mixed language used as an urban lingua franca with non-Siraiki speakers. Both these varieties receive only passing mention, respectively as 'sub-standard' and as 'colloquial'.

In order to facilitate the comparison with Panjabi, the book has been arranged in a way broadly similar to that of the standard modern grammar of Gill and Gleason: 1969. The order of presentation is traditional, dealing first with phonology in Chapter 1, then with morphology in Chapters 2-5, Chapter 5 being devoted to the pronominal suffixes, which constitute one of the main points of interest of Siraiki within the Indo-Aryan context. The main account concludes with an analysis of the syntax of the phrase and sentence in Chapters 6-8, parts of which should be found relevant to the analysis of similar phenomena in other Indo-Aryan languages. Chapter 9 contains a brief account of the main differences of SiS from CS, which include some archaic features found also in older CS poetry.

A further section was originally planned to illustrate the many possible variations of style by the extensive quotation of samples with commentary: this would have permitted a more adequate examination of the different varieties of language. But in view of the constraints imposed by the economics of specialist academic publishing, this scheme has been reduced to the provision of a few short extracts at the end of Chapters 8 and 9.

All cross-references within the book are to chapter, paragraph and subparagraph. To help cross-reference, paragraph numbers have been printed at the top outside corner of each page. Bibliographies of the works cited in the Introduction and of those quoted

in the text are to be found at the end of the book, followed by a list of the principal abbreviations employed, and an index of paragraphs.

Phonemic transcription is between oblique strokes, except in tables. Alternative forms in free variation as denoted as /vāṭhuhā ~ vāṭhuā/. Alternatives from different local varieties appear as /Ċ hīse ~ S hese/. Sub-standard alternatives are written in round brackets as /rāḥak ~ (rāḥuk)/. Obsolete forms are in square brackets as /[hai] > hai/. Presumed historical forms are asterisked and in square brackets only as *[rāhi] > /ræh/.

CHAPTER 1

PHONOLOGY

1.1 VOWELS

There are nine primary vowels in C:

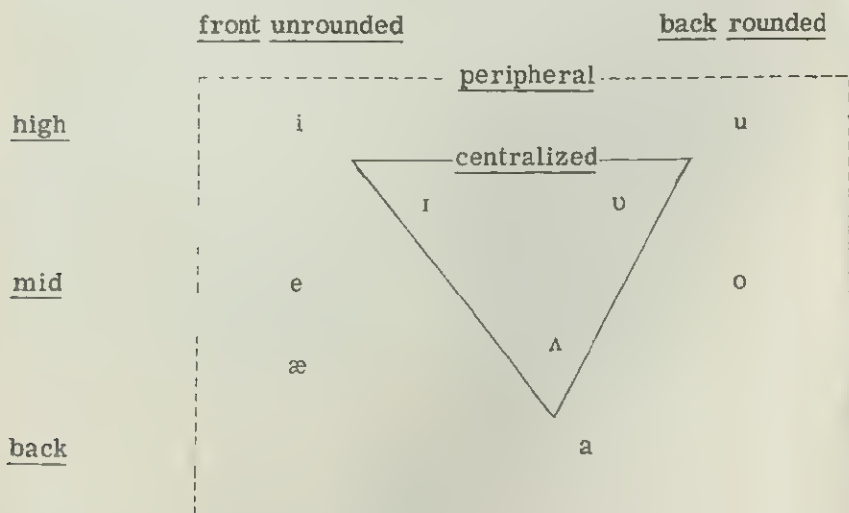
/ʌ a ɪ i e æ u u o/

Contrasts are illustrated by:

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------|---------|
| /mʌl/ | 'seize' | /mal/ | 'goods' |
| /mɪl/ | 'meet' | /mil/ | 'mile' |
| /mel/ | 'small change' | /mæl/ | 'dirt' |
| /mul/ | 'price' | /mul/ | 'root' |
| /mol/ | 'head-pad' | | |

1.2 PHONETICS OF VOWELS

Phonetic relationships between the vowels in C are defined as:



The primary opposition is between the peripheral and the centralized vowels: only the former usually occur in word-final po-

sition. Centralized vowels are usually shorter in articulation than peripheral vowels, but the main contrast is of phonetic quality rather than quantity. Regular correspondences between these classes, viz. accented /a/ versus unaccented /ʌ/, /i e/ vs. /ɪ/, and /u o/ vs. /ʊ/, play an important part in the language, as exemplified by the formation of many abstract nouns:

| | | | | |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| /a > ʌ/ | /bal/ | 'child' | /bʌ'lakki/ | 'childhood' |
| /e > ɪ/ | /bhen/ | 'sister' | /bhr̥'ṇappi/ | 'sisterhood' |
| /o > u/ | /'sonha/ | 'beautiful' | /su'ṇhap/ | 'beauty' |

These sets also demonstrate a secondary opposition between front rounded and back unrounded vowels. /æ/, lacking a back rounded counterpart, is the point of least stability within the system, and is liable to confusion with a diphthong, /ʌe/ (1.3.1, 1.4).

Realization of the vowels is very similar to that in adjacent languages; but accented /ʌ/ is markedly more open and low back than the centralized neutral vowel /ə/ of U P Si, and nearer to /a/. All vowels are somewhat reduced in quality in unaccented position, especially when pretonic: unaccented /ʌ/ is regularly realized as /ə/, an allophonic variation not recorded in this transcription. The quality of vowels is also affected by the articulation of adjacent consonants, especially retroflex sounds, which impart a dark quality to the vowel.

1.3 VOWEL SEQUENCES

Vowel sequences are very common. A large number of two-member patterns are possible:

| | ʌ | a | ɪ | i | e | æ | ʊ | u | o |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| ʌ | | | | ʌi | ʌe | | | | ʌo |
| a | | | aɪ | aɪ | ae | aæ | | au | ao |
| ɪ | ɪʌ | ɪa | ɪɪ | ɪi | ɪe | ɪæ | | ɪu | ɪo |
| i | ia | ia | | | ie | iæ | | iu | io |
| y | | ya | | | ye | | yʊ | yu | yo |
| e | | ea | | | | | eu | eu | eo |
| ʊ | | ʊa | | ʊi | ʊe | | | | |
| u | uʌ | ua | | ui | ue | uæ | | | |
| o | | oa | oi | oi | oe | oæ | | | |

Sequences of peripheral + centralized vowel are unstable and liable to reduction. Such sequences are to be regarded as disyllabic:

| | | | |
|---------|----------|---------|-------|
| /ˈbiər/ | 'beer' | /ˈsuər/ | 'pig' |
| /ˈʃaɪr/ | 'poet' | /ˈkɒrɪ/ | 'not' |
| /ˈgeʊm/ | 'I went' | | |

1.3.1 Diphthongs

Other sequences may be treated as diphthongs. Sequences of identical vowels are normally avoided by the insertion of /v/ or by reduction: sequences of two low or two back vowels do not occur. /æ/ does not occur as the first member of a diphthong, nor as second member in S.

/y/ is used conventionally in this transcription to represent a weakened and centralized /e/, occurring only as the first member of rising diphthongs. This /y/ is never initial, whereas the true semi-vowel /y/ is initial only (1.7).

a) diphthongs beginning with low vowels

| | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|----------|
| /maɪ/ | 'May' | /maɪ/ | 'mother' |
|-------|-------|-------|----------|

The first element of /aɪ/ is more centralized than /a/, and the diphthong is very close to /ɪ/, especially since both are even diphthongs. In some common words the reduction of /aɪ/ to /ɪ/ is now standard, e.g., /[hɪ] > hɪ/ 'she was'. /ɪ/ also regularly represents a reduction of *[ei] and *[æi], e.g., /gea/ 'he went' but /gɪ/ 'she went', /ʃæ/ 'thing' but /ʃɪ/ 'things'.

| | |
|------------|----------|
| /bʌˈnae/ | 'made' |
| C/bʌˈnaem/ | 'I made' |

The first element in /ae æ/ is rather closer to /a/ than in /aɪ/. /æ/ in C is an allophone of the unstable simple vowel /æ/. /æ/ is written to the exclusion of /ae/ in this transcription, but the diphthongal realization is regular when such open monosyllables as /mæ/ 'I' occur in emphatic position (1.10): realization varies in other positions, the simple vowel predominating in unaccented position, in closed syllables, and as the second member of diphthongs.

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| | | /bʌˈnaʊ/ | 'let us make' |
| /ˈnaokʌr/ | 'servant' | /bʌˈnao/ | 'make!' |

The first element in /ao/ is very low, and the diphthong is in marked phonetic contrast with /ao/.

b) diphthongs beginning with front vowels

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------|-------------|
| /ˈkʊtʌ/ | 'bitches' | /ˈdhiə/ | 'daughters' |
| /ˈkutyə/ | 'dogs' | /ˈgeə/ | 'went' |

In all sets of diphthongs beginning with a front vowel, those beginning with a centralized vowel are rising, those with a peripheral vowel even or slightly falling: phonetic contrast is therefore strong. The contrast between /ia/ and /ya/, though phonetically weak, is well maintained, since it often has semantic importance, as in the pair of words cited.

/ia/ and /ea/ occur only in accented position. In monosyllables reduction in unemphatic position is common, hence /'dhiā dīā/ 'of the daughters', /'thi gya/ 'he became': but finally in disyllables, the only other possible position, the quality is maintained, e.g., /bha'tria/ 'nephew', /ma'trea/ 'step-'.
 /'tarbiat/ 'training'
 S/'caññin/ 'they're good' /'pitri/ 'you've drunk'

These occur only in unaccented syllables: /ia/ occurs in loans, while /i i/ result from morphological contractions.

/ 'marsie/ 'elegies' /bha'trie/ 'nephews'
 / 'milye/ 'they met'
 C/'caññæn/ 'they're good' C/'dhiæn/ 'they're daughters'

/ye/ represents both *[ee] and *[yə] in morphological contractions: the first element is very weakly realized in this rising diphthong, and will often be dropped in fast speech where it is recorded in transcription.

/ 'akhyum/ 'I said'

The second element is lowered almost to /ɔ/ by some speakers. /yu/ is more even than other diphthongs beginning with /y/, and is the only common diphthong consisting of two centralized vowels. It always occurs in unaccented position, corresponding to accented /eu/, as in /'geum/ 'I went'.

/ 'vastrū/ 'from the village' /'piū/ 'let us drink'
 / 'khaḅyū/ 'from the left' /'deū/ 'let us give'
 / 'ghoṛio/ 'o mares!' /'pio/ 'drink!'
 / 'ghoṛyo/ 'o horses!' /'deo/ 'give!'

The diphthongs beginning with peripheral vowels are always in accented position, those beginning with centralized vowels usually in unaccented position, but a few monosyllables contrast, e.g., rising /'piu/ 'father' vs. even /'siu/ 'river-water'. Rising /yo/ alternates with falling /eu/ in /'gyom ~ 'geum/ 'I went', and similar monosyllables.

1.3.1

c) diphthongs beginning with back rounded vowels

| | | | |
|--------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| /'dua/ | 'prayer' | /'bua/ | 'aunt' |
| | | /cʌ'rhoa/ | 'washerman' |

/ua/ is markedly rising, in strong phonetic contrast with /ua/, which is falling.

| | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| /'kui/ | 'someone' | /'sui/ | 'needle' |
| | | /cʌ'rhoi/ | 'washerwoman' |

/ui/ is in strong contrast with /ui/, and represents a regular reduction of /oi/, whose independent status is marginal, thus /['koi] > kui/ 'someone'.

| | | | |
|----------|--------------|------------|--------------------|
| C/'cveθ/ | 'sixty-four' | /'bhuē/ | 'earth' |
| | | /'toe/ | 'pits' |
| | | C/'buæ/ | 'it's auntie' |
| | | C/cʌ'rhoæ/ | 'he's a washerman' |

All these are very rare, except the falling /oe/.

1.3.2 Longer sequences

Only one diphthong normally occurs in a word. Sequences of more than two members occur through the addition of morphemes: these are realized in transcription by the application of morpho-phonemic rules. Analysis of triphthongs is therefore disregarded in favour of the representation of such sequences as diphthong + vowel, thus /'lɪiã/ 'tamarisks' is taken as /lɪ + ã/: in such words the sequence of vowels is usually phonetically split by a slight /y/-glide after the diphthong.

Other complex sequences which might be supposed to occur through the rigid application of morphological rules are in practice simplified, thus /ʌ'laya/ 'spoke' + /-is/ 'he has' > /ʌ'læs/ 'he has spoken'.

1.4 VOWELS IN S

A somewhat closer articulation, particularly of the front vowels, characterizes S.

S also lacks the unstable C vowel /æ/, except in the special case of /æh/ (1.12.3). In accented position C /æ/ is normally realized as S/ʌe/: this is possible also in C (1.2, 1.3.1). /æ/ is here transcribed to the exclusion of /ʌe/, in order to avoid writing sub-phonemic differences: hence transcribed /sɪ'ræki/ 'Sirai' represents phonetic /C sɪ'ræki ~ CS sɪ'ræki/.

In a restricted set of common pronominal and verbal forms accented C /æ/ corresponds to S /e/. These constitute an important dialectal shibboleth and are separately transcribed, thus:

| | | | |
|----------|-----|----------|--------------|
| C/'mæda/ | vs. | S/'meda/ | 'my' |
| /'væda/ | | /'vēda/ | 'going' |
| /'væsi/ | | /'vesi/ | 'he will go' |
| /'bætha/ | | /'betha/ | 'sat' |

Unaccented C /æ/ is realized as S /e/ in open syllables, as S /ɪ/ in closed syllables. This is noted in transcription, thus:

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|-------------|---------------------|
| C/'turdæ/ | vs. | S/'tūrde/ | 'he goes' |
| /'turye gæn/ | | /'turye gm/ | 'they've gone away' |

Thus the unstable three-term set C /e æ o/ stands mid-way between the stable systems of contrast found in the four-term U P /e æ o ɔ/ and the two-term S Si /e o/. It is to be noted, however, that /æ ~ æe/ and /ʌo/, corresponding to U P /æ ɔ/, have a special status among Siraiiki diphthongs in that they alone may be initial in a polysyllabic word, e.g., /'æra/ 'foundation', /'ʌokha/ 'difficult'.

1.5 NASALIZATION

Nasalization, transcribed as /-/, occurs freely with peripheral vowels in all positions, including diphthongs. There is phonemic contrast between nasalized and non-nasalized vowels:

| | | | |
|----------|--------------|----------|-------------|
| /'khāda/ | 'eating' | /'khada/ | 'ate' |
| /'tūrē/ | 'may you go' | /'tūre/ | 'may he go' |

Only rarely is nasalization optional. Dialectal contrast is present in such forms as /tē/ 'and', /'pichē/ 'after', characteristic of the trans-Indus region, vs. standard CS /te 'piche/.

There is a weak homorganic nasal glide after nasalized peripheral vowels and before plosives: this is not transcribed. In the case of centralized vowels this glide is pronounced and more significant than the nasalization. Centralized vowels are therefore written with nasalization only in other contexts, thus /'rāhda/ 'remaining'.

The domain of nasalization extends backwards through vowel sequences, but is transcribed only on the final vowel, thus /bhu'aīā/ 'turned'. /-v-/ is a boundary for the forward, not for the backward extension of nasalization: transcribed /'gāvyā/ 'sang', /'avē/ 'come' thus represent phonetic /'gāvyā/ but /'āvē/.

Non-phonemic nasalization also occurs regularly in the context of nasal consonants, both forward and back, but is not transcribed: written /'sona/ 'gold', /cā'nai/ 'goodness' thus represent phonetic /'sōnā cā'nāi/. The full realization of a homorganic nasal glide

after non-phonemically nasalized centralized vowels is definitely sub-standard, thus /'sʌmɪjh ~ ('sʌmɪ̃jh)/ 'understand'.

In monosyllables with initial /n m/ nasalization is not automatic, and is transcribed, thus:

| | | | | |
|-------|--------|-----|-------|---------------|
| /mæ/ | 'I' | vs. | /ma/ | 'mother' |
| /mɪh/ | 'Magh' | | /mʌh/ | 'month, moon' |
| /nā/ | 'name' | | /nai/ | 'barber' |

1.6 CONSONANTS

A maximum of 48 consonants, including semi-vowels, may be distinguished. The most distinctive of these are the four implosives, a set which Siraiki shares only with Si.

The consonants are defined by place and manner of articulation as:

| | (vd.) | (asp.) | glottal | velar | palatal | retro- flex | dental | labial |
|--------------------|-------|--------|---------|-------|---------|----------------|--------|--------|
| <u>plosives</u> | — | — | | k | c | ṭ | t | p |
| | — | × | | kh | ch | ṭh | th | ph |
| | × | — | | g | j | ḍ | d | b |
| | × | × | | gh | jh | ḍh | dh | bh |
| <u>implosives</u> | × | — | | ɠ | ɟ | ɖ | | ɓ |
| <u>fricatives</u> | — | — | | x | ʃ | | s | f |
| | × | — | h | ḡ | | | z | |
| <u>nasals</u> | × | — | | ṅ | ɲ | ṇ | n | m |
| | × | × | | | | ṇh | nh | mh |
| <u>flaps</u> | × | — | | | | ɾ | r | |
| | × | × | | | | ɾh | rh | |
| <u>laterals</u> | × | — | | | | | l | |
| | × | × | | | | | lh | |
| <u>semi-vowels</u> | × | — | | | | y | | v |
| | × | × | | | | | | vh |

Contrasts within the system are illustrated in the following sets of minimal pairs:

a) voiceless vs. voiced

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| <u>plosives</u> | /k g/ | /kʌp/ | 'cut' | /gʌp/ | 'bog' |
| | /c j/ | /'coga/ | 'bird food' | /'joga/ | 'fit' |
| | /t̥ d̥/ | /'t̥ʌkʌŋ/ | 'inoculate' | /'d̥ʌkʌŋ/ | 'stop' |
| | /t d/ | /tɪl/ | 'oilseed' | /dɪl/ | 'heart' |
| | /p b/ | /par/ | 'across' | /bar/ | 'load' |
| <u>fricatives</u> | /x ǧ/ | /xær/ | 'welfare' | /ǧær/ | 'other' |
| | /s z/ | /sal/ | 'year' | /zal/ | 'woman' |
| | /f v/ | /fal/ | 'omen' | /val/ | 'hair' |

b) unaspirate vs. aspirate

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|-----------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| <u>plosives</u> | /k kh/ | /'kʊsʌŋ/ | 'be killed' | /'kʰʊsʌŋ/ | 'drop' |
| | /g gh/ | /gʌp/ | 'bog' | /ghʌp/ | 'mark' |
| | /c ch/ | /'cala/ | 'custom' | /'chala/ | 'blister' |
| | /j jh/ | /jʌg/ | 'world' | /jhʌg/ | 'foam' |
| | /t̥ th̥/ | /'t̥ʌpʌŋ/ | 'jump' | /'t̥h̥ʌpʌŋ/ | 'shut' |
| | /d̥ dh̥/ | /d̥ɪd̥/ | 'frog' | /d̥h̥ɪd̥h̥/ | 'belly' |
| | /t th/ | /'tʌpʌŋ/ | 'glow' | /'thʌpʌŋ/ | 'pat' |
| | /d dh/ | /di/ | 'of' | /dhi/ | 'daughter' |
| | /p ph/ | /pʊl/ | 'bridge' | /phʊl/ | 'flower' |
| <u>nasals</u> | /b bh/ | /bor/ | 'bored' | /bhor/ | 'crumb' |
| | /n nh/ | /nī/ | 'ol' | /nhī/ | 'not' |
| | /m mh/ | /'nɪmi/ | 'impregnated' | /'nɪmhi/ | 'I am not' |
| <u>flaps</u> | /ɾ ɾh/ | /ɾʌɾ/ | 'roar' | /ɾʌɾh/ | 'crop' |
| | /r rh/ | /'keri/ | 'ashes' | /'kerhi/ | 'who?' |
| <u>laterals</u> | /l lh/ | /sal/ | 'year' | /salh/ | 'reed hut' |
| <u>semi-vowels</u> | /v vh/ | /'nɪv̥ē/ | 'bow!' | /'nɪrvhē/ | 'you're not' |

c) plosive vs. implosive

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|
| /g g̱/ | /gol/ | 'round' | /gol/ | 'search' |
| /j j̱/ | /'jala/ | 'niche' | /'j̱ala/ | 'cobweb' |
| /ḏ ḏ̱/ | /'ḏakṯʌr/ | 'doctor' | /ḏak/ | 'post' |

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------|-------|----------|
| /d d/ | /dʌr/ | 'door' | /dʌr/ | 'fear' |
| /b b/ | /bʌs/ | 'bus' | /bʌs/ | 'enough' |

d) plosive vs. fricative

| | | | | |
|--------|----------|----------------|---------|--------------|
| /k x/ | /kar/ | 'deed' | /xar/ | 'thorn' |
| /kh x/ | /khar/ | 'alkali-plant' | /xar/ | 'thorn' |
| /ch š/ | /'chala/ | 'blister' | /'šala/ | 'God grant!' |

e) plosive vs. semi-vowel

| | | | | |
|---------|----------|----------|----------|--------------|
| /j y/ | /ja/ | 'place' | /ya/ | 'or' |
| /b v/ | /bar/ | 'load' | /var/ | 'day' |
| /bh vh/ | /'nibhi/ | 'passed' | /'nrvhi/ | 'you're not' |

f) other classes

| | | | | |
|---------|----------|-------------|-----------|----------|
| /ṇ r/ | /baṇ/ | 'arrow' | /bar/ | 'hunger' |
| /ṇh ṛh/ | /'soṇha/ | 'beautiful' | /'saṇṛha/ | 'narrow' |
| /r l/ | /raṭ/ | 'blood' | /laṭ/ | 'leg' |

g) glottal vs. velar

| | | | | |
|-------|----------|---------|----------|-----------|
| /h x/ | /vɪ'sah/ | 'trust' | /vɪ'sax/ | 'Baisakh' |
| /h ǧ/ | /hʌm/ | 'I was' | /ǧʌm/ | 'grief' |

h) palatal vs. dental

| | | | | |
|-------|---------|--------------|---------|---------------------|
| /š s/ | /'šala/ | 'God grant!' | /'sala/ | 'wife's brother' |
| /ñ n/ | /vañ/ | 'go!' | /vaṇ/ | 'kind' |

i) retroflex vs. dental

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| <u>plosives</u> | /ṭ t/ | /'toṭa/ | 'piece' | /'tota/ | 'parrot' |
| | /ḍh dh/ | /'dhovʌṇ/ | 'convey' | /'dhovʌṇ/ | 'wash' |
| <u>nasals</u> | /ṇ n/ | /'kaṇa/ | 'one-eyed' | /'kana/ | 'reed' |
| <u>flaps</u> | /ṛ r/ | /'tar/ | 'watching' | /'tar/ | 'wire' |

1.7 NEUTRALIZATIONS OF CONTRAST

Some contrasts are neutralized in certain positions in the word, others are weakly established.

a) voiced retroflex plosives

The contrast between /d/ and /ḍ/ is weakly established by a few sub-minimal pairs, such as /'thada/ 'cold' vs. /'thada/ 'clump of

palm-trees', and slightly strengthened in educated speech by the use of such loans as /'daktar/ 'doctor'. Otherwise /d/ occurs only after homorganic nasals following a centralized vowel, or after a nasalized peripheral vowel, and is in complementary distribution with /d̪/, which is in strong contrast with /t̪ dh d/ (1.6.a-c).

b) plosives vs. fricatives

Educated speech normally maintains the careful contrasts of U between plosives and homorganic fricatives (1.3.d): since the latter mostly occur only in Persian and Arabic loans, it is not always possible to establish minimal pairs. The contrast is weakened in sub-standard speech by the frequent substitution of fricatives for plosives, especially /x ǧ z/ for /k g j/ (1.13.2.b): this is quite unlike P, where /kh g j/ regularly replace /x ǧ z/.

c) nasals

In initial position only /n m/ contrast, since /ñ ñ/ are medial or final only. Elsewhere /n n m/ are in strong contrast, while the independent status of /ñ ñ/ is established by such pairs as /'caña/ 'good' vs. /'cana/ 'gram', /thañ/ 'mother's milk' vs. /than/ 'udder'.

The contrasts /ñ ñj/ and, especially, /ñ ñg/ are weak. C prefers the cluster, S the single nasal in such words as /hing ~ hin/ 'assafoetida': the contrast is doubtful in such pairs as /sañg/ 'stone' vs. /sañ ~ sañg/ 'relationship'.

d) flaps

Opposition between /r/ and /d/ is difficult to establish in view of the weak independence of /d/ from /d̪/.

The contrast /r r/ is strong, but in medial and final position only, since /r/ is never initial. In Hindu speech there is, however, no such opposition: confusions in the notation of /r/ vs. /r/ in earlier accounts are to be attributed to reliance on Hindu informants. This was the major shibboleth with Muslim speech, although a few pairs like /'jerha ~ 'jerha/ 'who' occur in the latter also.

e) semi-vowels

Since the semi-vowel /y/ is initial only, contrast with /v/ is possible only in this position: transcribed /y/ elsewhere represents weakened /e/ as the first member of diphthongs (1.3.1).

In a few words initial /v/ is freely dropped: these include the adjectival postposition /'vala ~ 'ala/ and the common /vic ~ ic/ 'in'. In a few other words the dropping of /v/ is sub-standard or colloquial, thus /'vāgū ~ ('āgū/ 'like', /'vaste ~ ('aste/ 'for'.

f) aspirates

Apart from the plosive aspirates, only /rh lh/ are common. Only the plosive aspirates occur in initial position, except for /nh/ which is initial only, but weakly established. Other initial aspirates are possible only as the result of non-phonemic aspiration (1.12.2).

1.8 PHONETICS OF CONSONANTS

a) /h/

/h/ is a voiced glottal fricative in all contexts, except as the mark of aspiration in the voiceless plosive aspirates /k^h ch^h th^h ph/, when it is voiceless. /h/ is discussed further below (1.12).

b) places of articulation

Velars are normally pre-velar or mid-velar in articulation, depending upon the degree of frontness of neighbouring vowels. U /q/, a post-velar (uvular) voiceless plosive, is occasionally employed by educated speakers in extremely formal contexts, but it does not form part of the normal Siraiiki repertoire, which uses /k/ instead.

Palatal articulations are generally pre-palatal, that of /š/ definitely palato-alveolar. Retroflex articulations are post-alveolar, being articulated with the tip of the tongue, sometimes with its lower surface.

The dental plosives /t th d dh/ are immediately post-dental in articulation, the articulator being the blade rather than the tip of the tongue. /n/ is articulated rather further back on the teeth-ridge, while the position of /r/ and /l/ is typically further back still, in alveolar position: as the place of articulation moves back for these consonants, articulation is with the tip of the tongue, rather than with tip + blade or blade. For /s z/, both dento-alveolar sibilants, the blade of the tongue rises to the teeth-ridge, the front being depressed.

/f v/ are labio-dentals, the upper teeth typically coming into contact with the lower lip some way down the inside of the latter. The affrication in /v/ is particularly weak before /v/, as in /'vurha/ 'ploughed', and the phonetic realization is practically /w/: but the contrast with the absence of /v/ is maintained in the pair /'vuthi/ 'rained' vs. /'u^hthi/ 'arose'. The articulation of the other labials is bilabial.

c) implosives

In the articulation of the implosives, the breath is momentarily drawn in before being expelled in a following vowel or explosive consonant: implosives are not normally aspirated, never phonemically.

/g/ is markedly pre-velar, being further forward than /g/ in all corresponding environments.

The articulation of /j/ is also further forward than that of all other palatals (except /š/), being in effect alveolar-dental, with the blade as articulator. The forward position of /j/ has been plausibly cited as a reason for the lack of an implosive dental.

Normally the phonetically quite distinctive /d̥/, post-alveolar in articulation but further forward than /t̥ dh/, and articulated with

the tip or under-surface of the tongue, functions as the implosive member of both the retroflex and the dental series. But Jhangi, characterized generally by a preference for implosives where CS has explosives, also possesses a true dental implosive. Thus CS /d̪i'hara/ vs. P /diāra/ 'day', but Jhangi /d̪i'hara/ with dental implosive: yet another realization is found in sub-standard S/(j̪i'hara)/. The contrast /j̪ d̪/ is usually well-maintained in CS, however: thus /'j̪aha/ 'hedgēhog' vs. /'d̪aha/ 'a Jat tribe'.

/b/ is a simple bilabial implosive.

d) fricatives

Affrication in the velar fricatives /x ɣ/ is weak, both being pre-velar or mid-velar in articulation: there is a corresponding lack of uvular, scrappy quality. Cf. the weak affrication of /f v/.

e) nasals

/ŋ/ is a true retroflex nasal only in combinations with a retroflex plosive. As an independent phoneme it is articulated as a nasal retroflex flap, i.e., as phonetic /ɳ̠/, and involves a more marked non-phonemic nasalization of adjacent vowels than do the other nasals. The transcription of this sound as /ŋ/ underlines the phonemic contrast with /ñ ñ n m/ rather than the principal phonetic contrast, which is with /r/.

f) flaps

/r/ is a quick retroflex tap, articulated by the tip of the tongue against the front of the palate with a single tap.

The articulation of /r/ is characteristically a weak post-dental tap, but varies greatly according to its environment. In the combinations /tr dr/ the point of articulation is markedly more forward, and /r/ is realized as a weak trill: trilling is strong only in emphatic /rr/, as in /phurr/ 'fly away'. In combinations with following retroflex plosives on the other hand, as in /gard/ 'guard', /r/ loses its usual tapped quality to become an alveolar sonant.

g) semi-vowels

The articulation of /y/ is quite lax, like that of /v/. In /'iho/ 'this very', there is a strong palatal fricative glide after /i/ in C, almost approaching /'izho/. In spite of the correspondence with /'uvho/ 'that very', it does not seem necessary to postulate a phoneme /yh/ on the basis of this one word in one local variety only.

1.9 COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS

Combinations of consonants are best considered in the context of their position in the word. The special case of geminated consonants demands separate consideration (1.9.4).

1.9.1 Initial clusters

Much the most frequent type of initial cluster consists of dental plosive + /r/:

| | | |
|--------|------------|------------|
| /tr-/ | /'truṭaṇ/ | 'to break' |
| /dr-/ | /draḅh/ | 'a grass' |
| /dhr-/ | /'dhrukaṇ/ | 'to run' |

Articulation of the clusters is rapid, hardly occupying more time than that of a single consonant: the distinctive articulation of /r/ in these clusters has been remarked on (1.8.f). In the most southern parts of the S area /tr- dr-/ are realized as /ṭr- ḍr-/, as they are in Sireli, the northernmost dialect of Si.

The clusters are not always preserved, particularly in educated speech, probably influenced by U P, which lack these clusters. Thus /'tíkha ~ ('tríkha)/ 'sharp': /'traṭaṇ ~ 'ṭaṭaṇ ~ 'ṭaṭaṇ/ 'to jump'. Dissolution of the clusters by metathesis in derived forms involving a postponement of the accent is common at all levels of speech, thus /'dhrukaṇ/ but /dhu'r'kavaṇ/ 'to make run': /træ/ 'three' but /tɪ'rasi ~ 'trási/ 'eighty-three'.

The best established of other initial clusters consist of /s/ + voiceless plosive:

| | | |
|-------|--------|---------------------|
| /sk-/ | /skul/ | 'school' |
| | /skun/ | 'peace' [=U/sukun/] |
| /st-/ | /stul/ | 'stool' |

These clusters only occur in loans, and are commonest in the speech of those familiar with English. When /s/ is followed by a cluster or a voiced consonant, epenthesis is normal, thus /sa'trit/ 'street', /sa'mokiṅ/ 'smoking'. The degree of emphasis given to the epenthetic vowel depends upon the rapidity of speech and on the speaker's education: but these and other words with unaccented first syllable and weakly realized epenthetic vowel are not to be regarded as possessing true initial clusters. In native words the characteristic epenthetic vowel in this position is /ɪ/, which is always clearly articulated, as in /bhr'ra/ 'brother' vs. P /prà/.

1.9.2 Medial clusters

Almost any pair of consonants may occur in a medial two-member cluster, including pairs that might seem phonetically unlikely, as in /'kirri/ 'lizard'. Syllable-boundaries are normally to be regarded as falling between medial pairs of consonants (1.11).

Three-member medial clusters are rare, other than those involving the combination of dental + /r/ thus /'mandhra/ 'dwarf' (1.9.3.c), /ɪk'attri/ 'thirty-one' (1.9.4).

1.9.3 Final clusters

While more restricted than medial clusters, final clusters are of much more varied type than initial clusters:

a) dental plosive + /r/

| | | | | |
|--------|-----------|------------|--------|-----------|
| /-tr/ | /pʊtr/ | 'son' | /sotr/ | 'cousin' |
| /-dr/ | /hɑ'lɑdr/ | 'turmeric' | /kūdr/ | 'bulrush' |
| /-dhr/ | /dɑdhr/ | 'ringworm' | | |

As in initial or medial position, the articulation of these clusters is rapid: there is no post-cluster vocalic release of the kind discernible after other types of final cluster in slow or emphatic speech.

b) homorganic nasal + voiced plosive

This is the commonest type of final cluster, occurring only after a centralized vowel (1.5):

| | | |
|--------|----------|----------------|
| /-ŋg/ | /jɑŋg/ | 'war' |
| /-ŋgh/ | /jɑŋgh/ | 'leg' |
| /-ŋj/ | /ɑŋj/ | 'separate' |
| /-ŋjh/ | /vɑŋjh/ | 'boating-pole' |
| /-ŋd/ | /khaŋd/ | 'sugar' |
| /-ŋdh/ | /cuŋdh/ | 'corner' |
| /-nd/ | /baŋd/ | 'closed' |
| /-ndh/ | /baŋdh/ | 'dyke' |
| /-mb/ | /ɑmb/ | 'mango' |
| /-mbh/ | /cuŋmbh/ | 'be pricked' |

Implosives do not occur in these or any other final clusters: the second member is always voiced, although there is a homorganic nasal glide before a final voiceless plosive in such words as /bæk/ 'bank'.

c) /n/ + dental plosive + /r/

This is the only three-member final cluster and represents a combination of the first two types:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|--------|
| /-ndr/ | /candr/ | 'moon' |
| /-ndhr/ does not seem to occur. | | |

d) nasal + sibilant

This appears to be restricted to a single instance:

| | | |
|-------|---------|--------------|
| /-ns/ | /sæhns/ | 'a thousand' |
|-------|---------|--------------|

a) /ŋ/ + plosive

Since /ŋ/ is phonetically /f/ in these clusters, their analysis as non-homorganic nasal + plosive is doubtful:

/-ŋk/ /cɪŋk/ 'jingle'

/-ŋg/ /[cɪŋg] ~ 'cɪŋgi/ 'spark'

/-ŋj/ /vʌŋj/ 'trade'

f) voiceless velar + sibilant

/-xš/ /'kadirbaxš/ 'Qadimbakhsh'

/-kš/ /nakš/ 'impression'

/-ks/ /raks/ 'dance'

g) voiceless fricative + voiceless plosive

/-xt/ /dʌ'raxt/ 'tree'

/-šk/ /mušk/ 'musk'

/-št/ /gošt/ 'meat'

/-st/ /dost/ 'friend'

/-ft/ /koft/ 'blow'

Sub-standard has /vʌxt/ 'time', but standard has /vakt/, probably following U /vəqt/: this is the only instance of a final plosive + plosive cluster.

h) other final clusters

U admits a very large number of final clusters, some of which are also employed in loans in standard Siraiki. The best established of these have /r/ as first member:

/-rǧ/ /murǧ/ 'fowl'

/-rɪ/ /mart/ 'mart'

/-rɔ/ /gard/ 'guard'

/-rd/ /gird/ 'around'

But many clusters of /r l/ + voiceless consonants are liable to epenthesis, even in educated speech:

/-rk/ /fʌrk ~ 'fʌrak/ 'difference'

/-lk/ /mʌlk ~ ('mulax)/ 'country'

/-rf/ /sirf ~ 'siraf/ 'only'

All other final clusters in loans are usually realized at all levels with epenthesis: the epenthetic vowel is normally /ʌ/, sometimes /ɪ u/ after accented /-ɪ -u-/, thus:

| | | | |
|---------|------------|----------------------|--------------|
| U /-kr/ | U /fɪkr/ > | CS /'fɪkər ~ 'fɪkɪr/ | 'worry' |
| /-ḡz/ | /məḡz/ | /'māḡʌz/ | 'brain' |
| /-ḡl/ | /šūḡl/ | /ʃūḡv/ | 'occupation' |
| /-sm/ | /rəsm/ | /'rāsəm/ | 'custom' |
| /-rm/ | /šərm/ | /ʃārəm/ | 'shame' |
| /-lm/ | /fɪlm/ | /'fɪləm/ | 'film' |

Exceptional, however, is the retention of a final sonant cluster in:

| | | | |
|---------|------------|----------------|--------|
| U /-fz/ | U /ləfz/ > | CS /-vz/ /ʌvz/ | 'word' |
|---------|------------|----------------|--------|

1.9.4 Geminates

Initial geminates are impossible. All consonants are capable of gemination other than /h/, /y/ which is initial only, and /ŋ r/ which consist of a single tap.

Geminate sonants are sounded for longer than the corresponding single phonemes, /rr/ being trilled (1.8.f). Geminate plosives and implosives involve retention of the plosion of breath after realization of the preceding vowel. Geminate aspirates have aspiration only at the final release, thus /kkh llh/. Medial geminates before another cluster are realized with weak epenthesis, thus /'vāṇṇ^əna/ 'worthy to be gone': final plosive geminates are realized with noticeable vocalic release, the only common instance being /vicc^ə ~ icc^ə/ 'in'.

Gemination can occur only after an accented centralized vowel. Realization of gemination is weak, and is often noticeable only when the accent of the syllable containing the geminate is reinforced by emphasis in the intonation pattern of the utterance (8.7): thus /'utthi putr/ 'Get up, my boy!' vs. /o kəlɪ səl'bhaɪ 'uṭhi/ 'She got up yesterday morning.' Realization of gemination is much weaker than in P, rather resembling Si in this respect.

Gemination is always possible after an accented centralized vowel, and there is no real contrast between such etymological pairs as /'dɪli/ 'heart-felt' vs. /'dɪli/ 'Delhi'. In such pairs as /'vattā ~ 'vāṭa/ 'clod' vs. /vā'ta/ 'change', the contrast is one of accent rather than of gemination.

The realization of gemination is usually weakest before another consonant and finally: it is strongest when the accented syllable is second in the word. Gemination is written in this transcription only after accented vowels in the second syllable of trisyllabic words. This corresponds closely to the phonetic facts as well as serving to indicate differences of accent in such pairs as /bəl'lakki/ 'childhood' vs. /'malika/ 'o master!', and the special status of /-tr-/ clusters in words of the type /i'kattɪ/ 'thirty-one'.

1.10 ACCENT

All words, other than a very restricted set of enclitics (1.11.2), have one accented syllable. Words of more than two syllables may also have a secondary accent.

The tonic syllable is distinguished principally by length from its neighbours, either by the lengthening of peripheral vowels or by the gemination of consonants following centralized vowels. The relative length of the tonic syllable is phonetically realized by contrast with the post-tonic syllable, which thus acts as a tail. If there is no post-tonic syllable, the tonic syllable is prolonged by a short vocalic release, marked only in slow or emphatic speech, thus /viccə kɪ'tabə bhɪ'rað/: the regular realization of final accented /-æ/ as /-æe/ is a specialized instance of this rule (1.3.1.a).

The commonest word-pattern consists of disyllables with accented first syllable: this pattern, together with that of monosyllables, accounts for the great majority of all words.

In disyllables with second syllable tonic the pre-tonic syllable is always weak, i.e., it will always contain a centralized vowel reduced in quality (1.2), followed by a single consonant at the most. The commonest type of trisyllabic word has weak pre-tonic, strongly marked tonic and tail-bearing final syllable intermediate in quality.

Trisyllables in which the accent is on the first syllable have secondary accent on the third, i.e., allowing the interval of a syllable for the tail of the tonic to be realized, thus /'ʌb̥ar'g̥ut/ 'suddenly'. Words of more than three syllables occur only as compounds. (1.11.4).

1.10.1 Notation of accent

Hereafter the accent will not normally be noted in transcription, since the accent of most words is predictable by the following rules:

- a) all words have first-syllable accent, except
- b) disyllables with weak pre-tonic and peripheral vowel + consonant or diphthong in the second syllable, like /saval/ 'question', /dirkhan/ 'carpenter', /sazai/ 'punishments', which have final accent, and
- c) trisyllables with weak pre-tonic and peripheral vowel or centralized vowel + geminate in the second syllable, like /vicara/ 'poor', /cuhattar/ 'seventy-four', which have second-syllable accent.

The accent is noted in transcription only in unpredictable cases, most of which fall into the following two types:

- d) disyllables with weak pre-tonic and centralized vowel +

consonant in the second syllable:

/su'nɰap/ 'beauty' vs. /taɾaph/ 'agitation'

/gha'sun/ 'punch' /ghusaɳ/ 'to err'

e) disyllables with weak pre-tonic and final peripheral vowel:

/bhi'ra/ 'brother' vs. /bhari/ 'filled'

/it'la/ 'informing' /itla/ 'so much'

The only minimal pairs differentiated by the position of accent belong to this class.

1.11 BOUNDARIES

1.11.1 Syllable-boundaries

Syllable-boundaries are for the most part obvious. Boundaries in vowel sequences occur after a diphthong (1.3.2), or after a peripheral and before a centralized vowel (1.3), thus /'lai ā/ 'tamarisks', /'su ʌr/ 'pig'.

Syllable boundaries are to be regarded as falling between medial consonant pairs, thus /mur 'rē da/ 'twisting'. In slow speech two-member medial clusters may be broken by a weak epenthetic vowel, especially when the first member follows an accented peripheral vowel and the second marks the beginning of a grammatical morpheme: thus transcribed /'golna/ 'worthy to be searched' may represent phonetic /'gol^ə nā/.

Second syllables normally begin with a single consonant, where possible, although this phonetic analysis may conflict with morphemic patterns, thus /'dos tā/ 'friends', but /dost/ 'friend': /'a kho/ 'say!', but /'akh si/ 'he will say'. Three-member medial clusters resulting from morphemic additions may, however, be straightforwardly divided before the last consonant, thus /'tāŋ si/ 'it will hang'. Three-member medial clusters involving /-itr/ are divided as /i 'kat tri/ 'thirty-one', on the pattern of /cu'hat tar/ 'seventy-four'; but those involving /-ndr-/ as /'And rū/ 'from inside', since the combination of homorganic nasal + plosive forms an even tighter cluster than dental + /r/.

1.11.2 Word-boundaries

Word-boundaries are usually clearly defined both by the phonological criterion of the incidence of accent and tail and by semantic data, thus /bha'jai/ 'chased away' (one word) vs. /'bhaɪ 'ai/ 'she ran up' (two words). In a few cases, however, the incidence of a word-boundary is harder to determine, and inconsistency of orthography reflects the confusion of native speakers also. Such doubtful boun-

daries occur in many compounds (1.11.4) and with three classes of enclitic, for which arbitrary writing rules are required:

a) postpositions

The postpositions /da/ 'of', /kū/ 'to' and /ic/ 'in' only occur enclitically. These words are written independently after nouns, as /'chohīr kū/ 'to the girl', although the postposition can have at most secondary accent and such phrases are phonetically equivalent in accentual pattern to such trisyllables as /'ʌbʌrgūt/ 'suddenly'. After pronouns, however, /da kū/ are regarded as usually forming a single word, thus /'ūda/ 'his', /ukū/ 'to him' (2.8-9).

b) emphatic /i/

This is always enclitic (8.7.2), but is normally written as a separate word. Pairs like /'ithā/ 'here' vs. *[ithā + i] > /i'thāi/ 'right here' are regarded as separate lexical items. Pronouns again form a special case and /i/ forms a single word with the personal pronouns (2.8), thus /e kam ʌ'saīkita/ 'We did this' vs. /e kam 'ʌsā 'i kita/ 'We did it like this.'

c) present auxiliary

Many forms of the present auxiliary verb are used enclitically, often involving the elision of vowels: rules are given in 4.15.2.

1.11.3 Sandhi

Except in the cases of /i/ and the present auxiliary as referred to above, word-sandhi is not noted in transcription, although it is common in rapid colloquial speech between adjacent consonants: thus a voiceless cluster becomes voiced before a following initial voiced consonant in /muft di šarab > muvd di šarab/ 'free drink'. Consonant-sandhi within a word is also to be noted in the treatment of such loans as /'ʌvzʌl/ 'Afzal'.

1.11.4 Compounds

Native compounds are transcribed as two words, although the primary accent falls on the first member only, thus /'marʌn 'mañja/ 'death-bed', /'nɪmak 'khayna/ 'faithful' (lit. 'salt-eating') (6.7.2).

Loan compounds from Persian and English are common in educated speech: realization as one word or two varies, thus /tan'drusti/ 'health' (< Persian /tan/ 'body' + /durust/ 'right'), but /sʌ'lipiŋg 'sut/ 'pyjamas'.

1.12 ASPIRATION

Aspiration is a complex and interesting feature of the language. The freedom with which aspiration is realized in Siraiiki is analogous,

although it is phonetically in strong contrast, to the general replacement of aspiration in P by high and low tone (especially in the Majhi dialect), or the different patterns of tone in the Northern Lahnda dialects.

/h/ is a voiced glottal aspirate phoneme. The same sound occurs as the aspirate element of the voiced aspirate consonants, but there is a contrast of syllabification between these and the corresponding unaspirated sounds followed by /h/, e.g., /'səmh ʌh/ 'to sleep', vs. /təh/ 'hid/ 'preface'. Voiceless /h/ occurs as the aspirate element of the voiceless aspirate plosives.

1.12.1 Initial /h/

In most words initial /h/ is stable, contrasting with other initial consonants (1.6.g). Other minimal pairs establish the contrast between the presence and absence of initial /h/:

| | | | | |
|--------|-------------|-----|-------|---------|
| /həθh/ | 'obstinacy' | vs. | /ʌθh/ | 'eight' |
| /hədi/ | 'bone' | | /ʌdi/ | 'heel' |

This contrast is not absolute, however, since so-called 'spontaneous' initial aspiration is quite common, thus /ʌθh/ 'eight' > /ʌthe vele ~ hʌthe vele/ 'at all times'.

A few such doublets have come to be semantically differentiated, thus /həsvar/ 'horseman' vs. /savar/ 'passenger'. In some cases the form with /h-/ is standard, as in /hɪk/ 'one', /hɪkəllə/ 'alone', vs. P /ɪk ɪkəllə/: in others it exists as a sub-standard variant, thus /ʌfɪm ~ (hʌfɪm)/ 'opium', cf. U/əfɪm/.

Loss of initial /h/ is virtually confined to the short forms of the present auxiliary (4.15.1).

Intervocalic /h/ may be regarded as syllable-initial /h-/ by the rules of syllabification laid down in 1.11.1. Special cases of modification and displacement are dealt with in the succeeding paragraphs.

1.12.2 Final /h/

Final /h/ implies a preceding breathed vowel, and contrasts with the absence of /-h/:

| | | | | |
|--------|--------|-----|-------|--------|
| /nəθh/ | 'nail' | vs. | /nəθ/ | 'nine' |
|--------|--------|-----|-------|--------|

The voiced quality of /-h/ involves a predictable aspirated onset to the vowel after unaspirated voiced consonants: thus transcribed /bəh/ 'sit', /məh/ 'face', imply phonetic /b^həh m^həh/. Implosives are aspirated only in this non-phonemic instance.

Two realizations are possible of the vowel coloured by final /h/. Either the vowel is prolonged, aspiration at the onset is marked and vocalic release after /h/ is more distinct than the post-accentual tail after other final consonants (1.10): or the vowel is markedly short, all peripheral vowels being partly centralized, initial aspira-

tion is weaker and the final vocalic release is practically indistinguishable.

These articulations are in free variation in monosyllables. Thus, taking /u/ as the normal length of the vowel, transcribed /mūh/ may represent either /m^hū:h^ū/ or /m^(h)ūh/. Final /-h/ in a post-tonic syllable implies the second realization only, as in /'katēh/ 'Kartik': but final /-h/ in a non-initial tonic syllable implies only the first realization, thus /kɑ'rī:h/ 'caper'.

Loss of final /-h/ is discussed in 1.12.6.

1.12.3 /Δh/ and /ah/

The centralization of peripheral vowels before /h/ is particularly marked for /ah/. The phonemic distinction between /Δh/ and /ah/ has been lost in the modern language, probably quite recently, for it would appear to be maintained in the 19thc. poetry and is still preserved in the conservative SiS (9.2.5). An important consequence of the loss of this distinction is the falling together of such formerly contrastive pairs as /rahaṇ/ 'to be sown' vs. /[rahaṇ]/ 'to sow' (4.4.1).

Native orthography is very uncertain in the writing of /Δh ah/: here either /Δh/ or /ah/ is transcribed, according to position:

a) in post-tonic position only /Δh/, realized as /əh/, can occur (1.12.2), thus /tarāh/ 'manner', /yarāh/ 'eleven'.

b) in monosyllables /Δh/ and /ah/ are phonetically in free variation, by extension of the rules governing final /-h/, thus /bāh ~ bāh/ 'arm'. But only /bāh/ is transcribed, since inflexion will bring such monosyllables under the next heading.

c) an initial tonic syllable always has /Δh/, thus /rahaṇ/ 'to live' /cahaṇ/ 'to want' vs. U /ræhna cahna/. /h/ does not act as a barrier for the backward extension of nasalization (1.5), thus /bāhī/ 'arms' represents phonetic /b^(h)āhī/.

d) a non-initial tonic syllable always has /ah/, in conformity with the standard lengthening of all peripheral vowels before /-h/ in this position (1.12.2), thus /īthahī/ 'right here', /cɑ'nah/ 'Chenab', vs. /yarāh/ 'eleven'.

These rules represent a formalization of the phonetic facts analogous to those established for the writing of geminates, and in conformity with the rules for indicating the accent (1.10.1): in such learned loans as /muahɪd/ 'monotheist' vs. U /muvəhhɪd/ the vowel-lengthening compensates for the simplification of the geminate, since /hh/ does not occur (1.9.4).

The rules given must be supplemented in one instance:

e) the change *[Δhɪ] > /æhɪ/ is regular: thus /ræhɪn/ 'may they live' vs. /rahaṇ/ 'to live', /sæhɪb/ 'sir' vs. U /sahɪb ~ sahəb/, /tæhɪr/

'Tahir' vs. U /tahir/. This sequence, which marks the only regular occurrence of /æ/ in S, is also extended in educated speech in imitation of U to other contexts, thus /šahar ~ šæhir/ 'city', cf. U /šæhr/. A concealed example of the same vowel-harmony is found in the formation of some catenative participles (4.9.1.b), such as *[rahɪ] > /ræh/.

Vowel-harmony of a similar type is optional in the sequence /ʌhɪ/ thus /bahɪ ~ bæhɪ/ 'arms': but /ahɪ/, by definition non-initial, is unaffected, thus S /ʊnahɪθ/ 'fifty-nine'.

Earlier accounts of the language note another instance of vowel harmony, namely /ahu > ohu/: this does not form part of standard CS which has, e.g., /rahak/ 'cultivator' vs. sub-standard N /rahuk ~ rohuk/. Some rounding of /ʌ/ is discernible in some speakers' pronunciation of such words as /baho/ 'sit', /bahū/ 'very', but this is not sufficient to warrant transcription as /ɔ/.

1.12.4 Pre-consonantal /h/

Syllable-final /h/ preceding a voiceless consonant is maintained, the preceding vowel being realized as short and the voicing of /h/ reduced, as in /rahsi/ 'he will live'. A similar realization is also possible before a voiced consonant, except that there is no reduction in the voicing of /h/. When the preceding vowel is nasalized there is the usual homorganic nasal glide after the breathed vowel: thus /rāhda/ 'living' (representing phonetic /rāhnda/).

Medial clusters of /h/ + voiced consonant are however frequently resolved by metathesis into the corresponding voiced aspirate, /ʌh/ becoming /a/, thus /ʌhal/ 'manure' > /alhi/ 'scavenger'. This metathesis, usually a preferred alternative to the retention of a cluster with pre-consonantal /h/, is very common in inflected forms:

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|---|-----------------|-----------|
| /šahar ~ šæhir/ | 'city' | > | /šarhā ~ šahrā/ | 'cities' |
| /rahah/ | 'to live' | | /rāhda ~ rāhda/ | 'living' |
| /dohah/ | 'to milk' | | /dōhda ~ dōhda/ | 'milking' |

The same change is extended to pre-consonantal /kh/ in two instances:

| | | | | |
|----------|----------|---|--------------------------|----------|
| /akhah/ | 'to say' | > | C /akhda ~ ahda ~ adha/ | 'saying' |
| /dekhah/ | 'to see' | | /dekhda ~ dehda ~ dedha/ | 'seeing' |

Metathesis is standard where there is no root-form as for these nominal forms or participles, except where there is a clear U parallel, thus /mohra/ 'chessman': U /pæhla/ also accounts for the preference in the set of alternatives /pæhla ~ pæha ~ (pahla ~ palha)/ 'first'.

1.12.5 Other transfers of /h/

/h/ in other positions than pre-consonantal is also liable to metathesis, leading to a voiced aspirate:

a) initial /h/

There are a few examples of dialect preference:

/ʃ hʊnē ~ unhē ~ C unhā/ 'them'

/C hʊnala ~ S unhala/ 'summer'

b) intervocalic /h/

There are occasional examples of regressive transfer of intervocalic /h/:

/sabahī ~ sabhāī/ 'to-morrow'

Where there is no voiced consonant to which /h/ can be attached, intervocalic /h/ may be transferred to final position, especially in the sequence /ʌho > ʌoh/: thus /bʌho ~ bʌoh/ 'sit', or regular /pʌōhcaŋ/ 'to arrive' vs. U/pəhūcna ~ pōhcaŋ/.

c) final /h/

Regressive transfer of final /h/ to a preceding voiced consonant is quite common: as in the metathesis of pre-consonantal /h/, /ʌh/ becomes /a/:

/tʌrʌh ~ tʌrhā/ 'way'

/yarʌh ~ yarhā/ 'eleven'

/pʌndrʌh ~ pʌndhrā/ 'fifteen'

The transfer back to /d/ in the last instance, yielding the well-established medial cluster /-ndhr-/ (1.9.2), is to be noted.

1.12.6 Loss of aspiration

Loss of aspiration is frequent in the vicinity of other aspirates.

a) intervocalic /h/

Intervocalic /h/ may occur only once in a word, thus:

[raʰ- + -ahe] > /rahae/ 'please remain!'

Intervocalic /h/ between peripheral vowels following an earlier aspirate may also be lost:

/iʰhahī ~ iʰhāī/ 'right here'

/vaʰthuhā ~ vaʰthuā/ 'scorpion'

b) pre-consonantal /h/

Pre-consonantal /h/ is regularly dropped following an earlier aspirate:

/ḍhahāṇ/ 'to fall' vs. /ḍhasi/ 'he will fall'

c) final /h/

Final /h/ is now regularly dropped in monosyllables with an initial aspirate: earlier forms with /h/ are to be found in older texts, but are now obsolete, except as particularly careful or emphatic alternatives:

/[bhah] > bha/ 'fire'

/[chah] > cha/ 'buttermilk'

/[khuh] > khu/ 'well'

d) voiced aspirates

Voiced aspirates regularly lose their aspiration after a preceding aspirate, although earlier forms with aspiration are again to be found in older texts:

/[ghidha] > ghida/ 'took'

/[hāñjhū] > hāñjū/ 'tears'

/[khadha] > khada/ 'ate'

/[khañgh] > khañg/ 'cough'

/[ṭhādha] > ṭhāda/ 'cold'

Thus the regular ordinal suffix /-vā/, as in /satarvā/ 'seventieth', becomes /-vā/ after an aspirate, as in /sathvā/ 'sixtieth': after /h/ metathesis is possible, as in /vihvā ~ vivhā/ 'twentieth'.

The reverse process, in which the first aspirate loses its aspiration (Grassmann's law), is not generally active, although isolated examples may be cited: thus /kalh/ 'yesterday' > /kalatthū/ 'day before yesterday'.

e) spontaneous loss of aspiration

In some words older aspirates have lost their aspiration, although there is no other aspirate in the word:

/[caṛhaṇ] > caṛaṇ/ 'to mount'

/[kolhū] > kolū/ 'from'

/[thū] > tū/ 'from'

/[samhda] > samda/ 'sleeping'

Such loss of aspiration is to be compared with the reverse process of spontaneous aspiration (1.12.1; 1.13.2.f) as a further

indication of the instability in the realization of aspiration which characterizes the language.

1.13 PHONOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENTS IN LOANS

Loans are here defined as those loans from other languages of whose origin at least more educated speakers will be aware. Arabic and Persian words are treated as loans from Urdu, although in many cases the original borrowing may have been direct from Persian: for it is the model of U pronunciation against which adjustments are judged, some being accepted as standard, others stigmatized as sub-standard by educated speakers.

1.13.1 Adjustments of vowels

These are mostly regarded as standard.

a) pre-tonic vowels

Pre-tonic peripheral vowels are regularly weakened to centralized vowels:

| | | | |
|---------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| /a > ʌ/ | U /asman/ | > /ʌsman/ | 'sky' |
| /e > ɪ/ | /etiraz/ | /ɪtraz/ | 'objection' |
| /æ > ɪ/ | /səlab/ | /sɪlab/ | 'flood' |

Pre-tonic centralized vowels are normally preserved, thus /mɪzaj/ 'constitution' as U, vs. P /məzaj/: but pre-tonic /ʊ/ may be lost before a following rounded vowel, yielding an initial cluster (1.9.1):

| | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------|
| U /durust/ | > /drust/ | 'correct' |
| /sukun/ | /skun/ | 'peace' |

b) reduction of vowel sequences

A few sequences are regularly reduced. Some of these are very common:

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| /əə > a/ | U /təəjjub/ | > /tajub/ | 'wonder' |
| /aɪ > æ/ | /faɪda/ | /fæda/ | 'use' |
| /ayə > æ/ | /ʃayəd/ | /ʃæt/ | 'perhaps' |
| /ayə > aɪ/ | /rɪvayət/ | /rɪvart/ | 'tradition' |
| /əya > ɪa/ | /xəyal/ | /xɪal/ | 'thought' |

U /y/ is a semi-vowel, which does not occur in Siraiki, except initially. U /aɪ/ is sometimes preserved in careful speech, probably influenced by the written 'ain, in such words as /šair ~ šær/ 'poet'.

The reduction /ayə > aɪ/ is standard, except in monosyllables.

Sequences involving /v/ are usually preserved, thus /saval/ 'question' as U, vs. P /sual/: but /ʌvʌ/ may be reduced to /ʌo/, thus /gavarmɪnt̚ ~ gaormɪnt̚/ 'government'.

c) nasalization

Nasalization of vowels, especially before sibilants, is quite common, but educated speech here frequently follows U:

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| /ə > ʌ/ | U /həvəs/ | > /hʌvʌs/ | 'lust' |
| /ɪ > i/ | /rəviʃ/ | /ɾʌviʃ/ | 'manner' |
| /æ > æ/ | /æʃ/ | /æʃ/ | 'luxury' |
| /ɔ > ʌʊ/ | /hɔsla/ | /hʌʊsla/ | 'courage' |
| | /ʃɔq/ | /ʃʌʊk/ | 'desire' |

1.13.2 Adjustments of consonants

These are more varied in type, but many are characteristic of sub-standard speech only.

a) plosive > implosive

This is quite common, but not a regular change. Plosives are always preserved in clusters, but there are no other formal restrictions:

| | | | | |
|----------|--------------|---|--------------|-------------|
| /g > ɡ/ | U /gɪla/ | > | /ɡɪla/ | 'complaint' |
| | /pagəl/ | | /pəɡəl/ | 'mad' |
| /j > j̥/ | /xəjɪl/ | | /xʌjɪl/ | 'disgraced' |
| /d > d̥/ | E > /daktər/ | | /d̥(ɡ)ad̥ər/ | 'doctor' |
| | E > /fərad̥/ | | /f̥(ʌ)rad̥/ | 'nonsense' |
| /b > b̥/ | /bəs/ | | /b̥əs/ | 'enough' |
| | E > /rəbər̥/ | | /r̥ʌb̥ər̥/ | 'rubber' |
| | /ləb/ | | /l̥əb̥/ | 'lip' |

The change /d > d̥/ is definitely sub-standard. In Jhangi implosives are very freely employed in loans where CS retains the plosive, thus Jhangi /garul/ 'girl', /garum/ 'warm', /bahadur/ 'brave', vs. CS /garal garam bahadur/: /d/ is also changed to a dental implosive in Jhangi, thus /dost/ 'friend' vs. CS /dost/ (1.8.c).

b) plosive > fricative

This change is very common in sub-standard and colloquial speech, but careful educated speech usually preserves the plosive,

while simplifying final clusters (1.9.3.h):

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------|---|-----------|--------------|
| /q > x/ | U /vəqt/ | > | /vΛxt/ | 'time' |
| /k > x/ | /šukr/ | | /šuxur/ | 'thanks' |
| | /mulk/ | | /(mulΛx)/ | 'country' |
| /g > ģ/ | /guzara/ | | /ģuzara/ | 'livelihood' |
| | /sədagər/ | | /sudağar/ | 'trader' |
| /j > z/ | /juma/ | | /(zuma)/ | 'Friday' |
| | /fΛjr/ | | /(fΛzir)/ | 'dawn' |
| | /burj/ | | /(buruz)/ | 'tower' |
| /b > v/ | /šorba/ | | /šorvā/ | 'gravy' |

Bracketed forms are definitely rustic.

The reverse change of fricative to plosive is much less common, except:

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|-----------|-------------|
| /v > b/ | U /jəvab/ | > | /(jabab)/ | 'answer' |
| c) <u>dental</u> > <u>retroflex</u> | | | | |
| /n > ṇ/ | U /rənəq/ | > | /rΛṇək/ | 'splendour' |
| | /sabun/ | | /sabuṇ/ | 'soap' |
| /r > ṛ/ | /urdu/ | | /(uṛdu)/ | 'Urdu' |

The change /n > ṇ/ includes many standard forms, and is further extended in sub-standard speech: /r/ regularly becomes /ṛ/ in medial clusters in rustic speech only.

d) dental > palatal

Only sibilants are affected, and the change is definitely rustic:

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------|---|-----------|------------|
| /s > š/ | U /masum/ | > | /(mašum)/ | 'innocent' |
| E > | /fəst/ | | /(fašt)/ | 'first' |

e) devoicing

This appears to be restricted to a single pattern:

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------|---|---------|-----------|
| /d > t/ | U /jəldi/ | > | /jΛlti/ | 'quickly' |
| | /šayəd/ | | /šæt/ | 'perhaps' |

f) aspiration

The addition of initial /h-/ is quite common (1.12.1). Spontaneous final aspiration also occurs:

| | | | | |
|----------|-----------|---|----------|---------------|
| /a > ah/ | U /pərva/ | > | /pərvah/ | 'care' |
| | /fana/ | | /fΛnah/ | 'destruction' |

/ʌh/ is sometimes added to a final consonant, but forms without /ʌh/ are also in common use:

| | | |
|---------|-----------|---------|
| U /ʊmr/ | > /ʊmrʌh/ | 'life' |
| /əksər/ | /ʌksarʌh/ | 'often' |

Aspiration of medial or final sonants is common only in sub-standard speech:

| | | | |
|----------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| /n > nh/ | U /məna/ | > /mʌnha/ | 'forbidden' |
| /r > rh/ | E > /lari/ | /larhi/ | 'lorry' |
| /l > lh/ | /sal/ | /salh/ | 'year' |

g) dissimilation

Apart from the dissimilation of aspirates (1.12.6), this is confined to a few sub-standard examples:

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------|
| U /košĩš/ | > /košʌt/ | 'effort' |
|-----------|-----------|----------|

h) simplification of clusters

Most initial clusters, and many final clusters are regularly simplified by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, usually /ʌ/ (1.9.1, 3. h). In a few other instances the first member is omitted in initial clusters, the last in final clusters:

| | | | |
|------------|------------------|------------|--------------|
| /st- > t-/ | E > U /ĩst̤ešən/ | > /tešan/ | 'station' |
| /-št > -š/ | /b̤ardast/ | /b̤ar̤daš/ | 'supporting' |

Medial clusters are seldom simplified, except in one instance:

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| /-zd- > -z-/ | U /m̤əzduri/ | > /m̤azuri/ | 'wages' |
| | /n̤əzdiki/ | /n̤aziki/ | 'neighbourhood' |

But /m̤azdur/ 'workman' and /n̤azdik/ 'near' are standard: the change /d > z/ in /x̤ĩdmat ~ (x̤ĩzmat)/ 'service' may help explain the simplification of /-zd-/.

The regular loss of /h/ in a pre-tonic syllable before a sibilant is perhaps a special case of the weakening of pre-tonic syllables (1.13.1. a):

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| /-hs- > -s-/ | U /ehsan/ | > /isan/ | 'obligation' |
| | /m̤əhsul/ | /m̤asul/ | 'revenue' |

i) metathesis

The metathesis of pre-consonantal /h/ is common at all levels, although it is restrained in careful educated speech by the influence of U (1.12.4):

| | | |
|-----------|----------|-----------|
| U /ohda/ | > /hoda/ | 'office' |
| /mohl̤et/ | /molhat/ | 'respite' |

1.13.2

Common also at all levels are minor displacements of consonants:

U /qudrətən/ > /kudartən/ 'naturally'

More extensive displacements are however definitely characteristic of substandard speech. None of the following examples would be considered standard:

| | | | | |
|-----|------------|---|--------------|-------------|
| | U /mətɫəb/ | > | / (matbəl) / | 'purpose' |
| E > | /sɪgrət/ | | / (sɪgrɪt) / | 'cigarette' |
| | /bənduq/ | | / (dambux) / | 'rifle' |

1.14 SCRIPT

The only native script peculiar to the region is the local variant of the north-west Indian alphabet known locally as /kariikki/ from its use by Hindu shopkeepers for business purposes. Since the emigration of the Hindu population to India in 1947, this script has ceased to be used in the Siraiki-speaking area. It was used for the so-called 'Multani' translation of the New Testament published at Serampore in 1819, but has had no other significance as a vehicle for literature: an example of the script is given in LSI: 1919.

Most Siraiki-speakers being Muslim, it is the Arabic script which is normally used for writing the language, hitherto usually in the *nasta'liq* form standard for U. Orthography is far from standardized: sometimes U norms are followed where possible, while other writers prefer to show maximum distinction from these. Although the U script is often still used without modification, special diacritics are now usually added to distinguish letters peculiar to Siraiki: but attempts to establish a universally accepted system have so far proved unsuccessful. SiS is written in the Sindhi alphabet, in which all these letters can be written unambiguously.

The table opposite shows the standard U and Si letters and the principal local modifications of U, of which the set on the right is the been established.

Writing /ñ/ and /ŋ/ as the digraphs [nj] and [ng] avoids the need for two extra letters on the pattern of Si, since sequences of nasal + implosive do not occur. Writing /n/ as [nr] indicates its phonetic status as /ñ/, but leads to some rather awkward orthographic sequences.

| | <u>Urdu</u> | <u>Local modifications of U</u> | <u>Sindhi</u> |
|-----|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| /b/ | ب | پ پ پ پ | پ |
| /j/ | ج | ج ج ج ج | چ |
| /d/ | ڈ | ڈ ڈ ڈ ڈ | ڌ |
| /g/ | گ | گ گ گ گ | ڳ |
| /n/ | نج | نج نج نج نج | ڄ |
| /ŋ/ | نگ | نگ نگ نگ نگ | ڳ |
| /ɳ/ | ن | نر نر نر نر | ڻ |

CHAPTER 2

THE NOUN

2.1 WORD CLASSES

A number of quite distinct word classes are considered under the general heading of the Noun, since they are liable to similar patterns of inflexion. In order of discussion these are:

- a) the noun proper (2.2-4)
- b) the adjective, morphologically closely related to the noun; and its restricted sub-class, the numeral (2.5-6)
- c) the postposition, which is used with both nouns and pronouns (2.7)
- d) the pronoun, a restricted class of morphologically distinctive words, but considered here with the wider category of the pronominal adjective (2.8-12).

2.2 GENDER

Nouns are divided into two classes, masculine (m.) and feminine (f.), each entailing different patterns of inflexion.

The gender of nouns denoting animates is semantically governed, i.e., names of males are m., of females f. Formal criteria are less absolute, and always subject to this semantic rule. Formal rules of sufficiently general application to be noted are:

- a) most nouns in unaccented /-a/ are m., most in unaccented /-i/ are f.: thus /kapa/ m. 'cloth', /dori/ f. 'lace' (but, by the semantic rule, /nai/ m. 'barber'). Such pairs frequently correspond semantically to male and female pairs:

| | | | | | |
|---------|----|-------------------|---------|----|-------------------|
| /dada/ | m. | 'father's father' | /dadi/ | f. | 'father's mother' |
| /ghora/ | m. | 'horse' | /ghori/ | f. | 'mare' |

In the case of inanimates such pairing generally denotes a difference of size:

| | | | | | |
|--------|----|---------------|--------|----|---------------|
| /buta/ | m. | 'large plant' | /buti/ | f. | 'small plant' |
| /capa/ | m. | 'large oar' | /capi/ | f. | 'small oar' |

b) most m. animates in unaccented /-i/ have f. /-in/:

/dhobi/ m. 'washerman' /dhobin/ f. 'washerwoman'

/dihati/ m. 'countryman' /dihatın/ f. 'countrywoman'

There are, however, several exceptions to this rule, thus /moci/ m. 'cobbler' > /muciani/ f.: /nai/ m. 'barber' > /nıvanı/ f.

c) nouns with post-tonic /-v-/ and nouns with post-tonic CS /-A-/ ~N /-v-/ are m.: nouns with post-tonic /-ı-/ are f.: thus /şukar/ m. 'thanks', /CS jahgal ~N jahgıl/ m. 'jungle', but /pınsıl/ f. 'pencil'. Such pairs frequently correspond to male and female pairs:

/kukur/ m. 'cock' /kukır/ f. 'hen'

/C chohar ~ N chohar /CN chohır ~

Ş chuhur/ m. 'boy' S /chuhır/ f. 'girl'

This pattern, shared only with some Northern Lahnda dialects, is to be explained historically as the result of regressive vowel-harmony, i.e., *[choharu > chohuru] > N /chohur/. But post-tonic /-v-/ is regular only in N and Jhangi: it is also found in at least some varieties of sub-standard C and of Hindu speech. In S and standard C post-tonic /-v-/ is preserved only after tonic /-v-/ or /-u-/, perhaps by progressive vowel-harmony: some f. nouns with tonic /-ı-/ and post-tonic /-A-/ are similarly liable to assimilation with those having post-tonic /-ı-/, thus /pınsıl ~ pınsıl/ pencil.

d) Apart from the last category, the gender system is very similar to that of U P, and nouns are generally assigned genders identical with those of the corresponding nouns in these languages. Where U differs from P, the correspondence is usually with P, thus /nak/ m. 'nose' as P /nək/ m., vs. U /nak/ f.: in a few cases of uncertain gender the popular preference is for agreement with P, while U provides an educated alternative, thus /ruh/ 'soul' and /rah/ 'way' are both m. ~f., but P /rú rá/ m. and U /ruh rah/ f.

Examples of disagreement with both languages are uncommon. /cınta/ 'worry' and /cixa/ 'pyre' are both m., assimilated to the dominant class of m. nouns in unaccented /-a/, but are both f. in U and P. /dıl/ 'heart' is m., following U P, but f. in the sense of 'affection, feeling', cf. Si /dılı/ f.

2.3 INFLEXION

Nouns are inflected for number and case according to various declensional patterns. There are two numbers, singular (sg.) and plural (pl.): and there are five cases, direct (d., dir.), oblique

(o., obl.), locative (loc.), ablative (abl.) and vocative (voc.).

Cases other than dir. and obl. are in restricted use. Use of the voc. is virtually restricted to animates, of the loc. to a quite small class of inanimate nouns denoting place or time: loc. sg. is not very common, and abl. pl. does not occur. Functions of the cases are explained in 6. 1-4, 8. 2-3.

2.3.1 Morphophonemic adjustments

Inflection of nouns is mostly characterized by the addition of vocalic case-morphemes. There is an important distinction of dialect in obl. pl. of declensions I-IV, C /-ā/ vs. S /-ē/.

The addition of case-morphemes involves certain regular morphophonemic adjustments:

a) post-tonic /-a-/ is dropped before all consonants:

/ΔorAt/ > /Δortā/

But post-tonic /-i- -u-/ are dropped only before /ṇ r ṛ l/:

/dhobṇ/ > /dhobṇī/ vs. /maḷik/ > /maḷika/

/kukṛ/ > /kukṛē/

b) accented /-a/ always has /-v-/ before /-ā -ē/, usually before /-o/:

/bhir'ra/ > /C bhiravā ~ S bhiravē/

> /bhiravo ~ bhirao/

c) unaccented /-i -e/ become /-i- -y-/:

/admi/ > /admiā/

/varhē/ > /varhyē/

Diphthongs ending in /-i/ are liable to phonetic realization either as /-i-/ or as /-i-/: the transcription has

/mai/ > /maṛā/ vs. /lai/ > /laiā/

d) unaccented /-ia/ becomes /-æ -iā -iē/ before /-e -ā -ē/:

/rupia/ > /rupæ/

> /C rupiā ~ S rupiē/

e) metathesis of /h/ in the vicinity of voiced consonants is common (1. 12. 4):

/chohir/ > /chorhī/

2.4 DECLENSIONS

Nouns are assigned, usually on formal criteria, to the different declensions: some nouns, especially those of variable gender (2.3), are inflected according to more than one declension. There are six declensions, m. nouns being assigned to I-III, f. nouns to IV-VI: declensions III and VI are restricted in membership.

2.4.1 Masculine declensions

Formal criteria for assigning m. nouns to declensions I-III are:

I m. nouns in unaccented /-a ~ (-ā ~ -ō)/

II all other m. nouns in S and standard C

III m. nouns with post-tonic /-v-/ in N and sub-standard C

a) declension I

| | | 'dog' | 'day' | 'rupee' | 'scorpion' | 'boar' |
|-----|------------------|--------|----------|---------|------------|---------|
| sg. | dir. /-a (-ā-ō)/ | kṛta | dihara | rupa | vaṭhuhā | mirhō |
| | obl. /-e (-ē)/ | kṛte | dihare | rupæ | vaṭhuhē | mirhē |
| | loc. /-e (-ē)/ | | dihare | | | |
| | abl. /-yū/ | kṛtyū | diharyū | | | |
| | voc. /-ya (-yā)/ | kṛtya | | | | |
| pl. | dir. /-e (-ē)/ | kṛte | dihare | rupæ | vaṭhuhē | mirhē |
| | obl. /C-yā | kṛtyā | diharyā | rupā | vaṭhuhyā | mirhyā |
| | ~S-yē/ | ~kṛtyē | ~diharyē | ~rupiē | ~vaṭhuhyē | ~mirhyē |
| | loc. /-yē/ | | diharyē | | | |
| | voc. /-yo/ | kṛtyo | | | | |

Loc. sg. (= o. sg. = d. pl.) and loc. pl. (= S o. pl.) are both rare. Voc. sg. is sometimes /-a/ (= d. sg.), especially for proper names in /-a/.

2.4.1

b) declension II

| | 'house' | 'hand' | 'brother' | 'father' | 'year' |
|-----------|---------|--------|-----------|----------|---------|
| sg. dir. | ghar | hath | bhī'ra | piu | varhē |
| obl. | ghar | hath | bhī'ra | piu | varhē |
| loc. | ghar | | | | |
| abl. /-ū/ | gharū | hathū | | | |
| voc. /-a/ | | | bhirava | piua | |
| pl. dir. | ghar | hath | bhī'ra | piu | varhē |
| obl. /C-ā | gharā | hathā | bhiravā | piuā | varhyā |
| ~S-ē/ | ~gharē | ~hathē | ~bhiravē | ~piuē | ~varhyē |
| loc. /-ē/ | gharē | hathē | | | |
| voc. /-o/ | | | bhiravo | piuo | |

Loc. sg. (= d., o. sg. = d. pl.) is rare, but there are several common instances of loc. pl. (= S o. pl.).

c) declension III

| | 'cock' | 'boy' | 'forest' | 'inside' |
|----------------|--------|--------|----------|----------|
| sg. dir. /-u-/ | kukṛ | chohur | jaḥgul | andur |
| obl. /-a-/ | kukṛ | chohar | jaḥgal | andar |
| loc. /-i-/ | | | | andir |
| abl. /-ū/ | kukṛū | chorhū | jaḥglū | andrū |
| voc. /-a/ | kukṛa | chorha | | |
| pl. dir. /-a-/ | kukṛ | chohar | jaḥgal | |
| obl. /-ā/ | kukṛā | chorhā | jaḥglā | |
| loc. /-ē/ | | | jaḥglē | |
| voc. /-o/ | kukṛo | chorho | | |

The final consonant of nouns assigned to this declension in N and sub-standard C is normally /r r l/. The distinctive loc. sg. is preserved in several specialized forms used as postpositions (2.7.1. d).

All these nouns would be assimilated to declension II in S and standard C, i.e., all nouns have d. sg. /-a-/, except those with tonic /-u- (-u-)/, which have d. sg. (= o. sg., d. pl.) /-u-/.

2.4.2 Assignment of feminine nouns

Formal criteria for assigning f. nouns to declension IV-VI are:

IV f. nouns in /-i/

V f. nouns in /-h -al -alh/, in accented /-a/, and with post-tonic /-i-/

VI only /hañj ~ hañjh/ 'tear' and /tand/ 'fibre'

But some nouns defined as belonging to V, especially those in accented /-a/, may also follow IV.

IV is the most widely used f. declension, especially in C, and accounts for most f. nouns other than those specified above. The following classes are however assigned regularly to V:

a) names of females, especially female relatives:

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| /sæn/ | 'mistress' | /dæn/ | 'witch' |
| /bhen/ | 'sister' | /sen/ | 'child's mother-in-law' |
| /kār/ | 'bride' | /sas/ | 'mother-in-law' |
| /sotr/ | 'father's brother's daughter' | /phopher/ | 'father's sister's daughter' |
| /maser ~ masat/ | 'mother's brother's daughter' | /muler ~ mulver/ | 'mother's sister's daughter' |

Names of cousins and /sen/ are inflected as II when referring to males. /ninan/ 'husband's sister' is regularly assigned to IV, while three common words vary dialectally:

| | as IV | as V | |
|-------|----------|------------------|-------------------|
| /ma/ | C /mavā/ | S /mæri ~ mærhī/ | 'mother' |
| /dhi/ | C /dhiā/ | S /dhirī/ | 'daughter' |
| /nōh/ | C /nohā/ | CS /norhī/ | 'daughter-in-law' |

The V plurals are all formed irregularly.

b) other nouns:

Regularly assigned to V in both C and S are:

| | | | |
|---------|-------------|----------|------------|
| /tær/ | 'pony' | /hrl/ | 'kite' |
| /mañjh/ | 'buffalo' | /dʌvæjh/ | 'bed cord' |
| /ʌkh/ | 'eye' | /rat/ | 'night' |
| /vat/ | 'way' | /rʌrh/ | 'crop' |
| /bar/ | 'corn heap' | /sæ/ | 'thing' |

2.4.2

Some other common nouns usually follow IV in C, but V in S, including:

| | | | |
|---------|----------|---------|-----------|
| /kaṇak/ | 'wheat' | /fasal/ | 'harvest' |
| /cuṇḍh/ | 'corner' | | |

In older texts further variation between IV and V is common, either reflecting genuine forms now obsolete, or to help in meeting the exigencies of rhyme.

2.4.3 Feminine declensions

a) declension IV

| | 'bitch' | 'daughter' | 'mother' | 'woman' | 'mosque' |
|-----------------|---------|------------|----------|---------|----------|
| sg. dir. = obl. | kuṭi | dhi | ma | Δorat | masit |
| loc. /-e/ | | | | | [masite] |
| abl. /-ū/ | kuṭiū | dhiū | maū | Δortū | masitū |
| voc. /-a/ | kuṭia | dhia | | Δorta | |
| pl. dir. /-ā/ | kuṭiā | C dhiā | C mavā | Δortā | masitā |
| obl. /C-ā | kuṭiā | dhiā | mavā | Δortā | masitā |
| ~S-ē/ | ~kuṭiē | | | ~Δortē | ~masitē |
| loc. /-ī/ | | | | | masitī |
| voc. /-o/ | kuṭio | dhio | mao | Δorto | |

There is no difference between dir. and obl. in f. nouns except in S o. pl. of IV. There are distinctive forms for both loc. sg. and loc. pl., although neither are common. Voc. pl. is sometimes formed by the addition of /-o/ to the dir. pl., thus /dhiā-o/.

b) declension V

| | 'night' | 'girl' | 'daughter' | 'thing' | 'she-ass' |
|------------------|---------|----------|------------|---------|---------------------|
| sg. dir. = obl. | rat | chohir | dhi | šæ | g _Δ adēh |
| loc. /-ī/ | ratī | | | | |
| abl. /-ū/ | | chohirū | dhiū | | |
| voc. /-a/ | | chohira | dhia | | |
| pl. d. = o. /-ī/ | ratī | chorhī | S dhirī | šāī | g _Δ adhī |
| loc. /-ī/ | ratī | | | | |
| voc. /-ī-o/ | | chorhī-o | dhirī-o | | |

The loc. sg. is virtually obsolete. /chohir/ preserves post-tonic /-i-/ in the sg. to contrast with /chohar/ m. 'boy'.

c) declension VI

| | 'tear' | 'fibre' |
|------------------|--------|---------|
| sg. dir. = obl. | hañj | tand |
| pl. d. = o. /-ũ/ | hañjũ | tandũ |

This virtually exhausts the class of declension VI nouns. While such nouns as /pilũ ~ pilhũ/ f. 'fruit of the jal-tree' could be regarded as belonging to declension VI, they are in fact invariables, with no corresponding sg. /hañjũ ~ hañjhũ/ is also sometimes used as a sg. m. noun (as in P), and is then assigned to declension II.

2.5 ADJECTIVES

As in other related languages, the distinction between nouns and adjectives is as much syntactic as formal. Adjectives are to be regarded as a specialized sub-class of nouns: most adjectives may also be used as nouns, in which case they will follow the appropriate nominal declension.

Adjectival declensions are of three types: the first inflects for gender and number, the second only for gender in the standard language, while the third is uninflected.

2.5.1 Black adjectives

To this declension are assigned all adjectives in unaccented /-a/. The m. resembles closely declension I, while the f. follows declension IV. The class is named after its typical member /kala/ 'black':

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|----------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| sg. dir. | kala | kali |
| obl. | kale | kali |
| pl. dir. | kale | kaliã |
| obl. | kale | C kaliã |
| | ~C kalyã ~ S kalyẽ ~S kaliẽ | |

The mas. o. pl. usually = o. sg. = d. pl. The obl. is used in concord with nouns in all cases other than dir.

2.5.1

Adjectives in unaccented /-ā/ have inflected m. /-ē/ and f. sg. /-ī/. There are further adjustments in the declension of adjectives in accented /-ea -eha/, which follow the paradigms given for /matrea/ 'step-' and /kehā/ 'of what sort?':

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| sg. dir. | matrea | matrai | kehā | kahī |
| pl. dir. | matræ | matreā ~ matriā | kahē | kehīā |
| | | ~N matraiā | | |

Further reductions occur in the declension of /bea/ 'other' (2.10.a) and of monosyllabic past participles in /-ea/ (4.12).

2.5.2 'Unfast' adjectives

A very small class of adjectives, apparently distinctive of the language, is inflected only for gender. It consists of adjectives with post-tonic /-Λ-/ , and has been named after its typical member /phitokar/ 'unfast, liable to run':

| | | | |
|------------|----|------------|----|
| /phitokar/ | m. | /phitokir/ | f. |
|------------|----|------------|----|

In N and other varieties which have declension III, the m. inflects:

| | | | |
|----------|------------|-----------------|------------|
| sg. dir. | /phitokur/ | sg. o. = pl. d. | /phitokar/ |
|----------|------------|-----------------|------------|

As with nouns liable to be assigned to declension III, the final consonant is normally /r ɾ l/.

Adjectives in /-i/ also inflect for gender when used with an animate noun, thus /dihati chohar/ 'country boy' vs. /dihati chohir/ 'country girl': but these too are infrequent.

2.5.3 Red adjectives

All other adjectives belong to this class, which is uninflected and is named after its typical member /lal/ 'red'.

Adjectives in final accented /-a/ belong to this class, whether the accent is primary or secondary, thus /sa'fa/ 'clear', /"mubta'la/ 'embroiled'. A few Persian loans in unaccented /-a/, such as /dana/ 'wise', may also remain uninflected as regularly in U: but many such adjectives regularly inflect throughout according to the black declension, thus /ravana ~ ravanna/ 'moving', /ziada/ 'more', /zinda/ 'alive'.

2.5.4 Comparative adjectives

Comparison is normally expressed by phrases involving post-positions (6.3. c). There is no true synthetic comparative form of adjectives: but the fairly common accented suffix /-'era/, added only to black adjectives, whose root-vowel is then weakened, gives the sense of 'quite, rather', sometimes with a vague comparative sense:

| | | | |
|---------|--------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| /choṭa/ | 'small' | /chūṭera/ | 'rather small' |
| /cokha/ | 'much, well' | /cukhera/ | 'a bit more, a bit better' |

2.6 NUMERALS

Numerals constitute a sub-class of the adjective, formally as well as semantically differentiated. The various vertical classes of numeral-cardinals, ordinals and multiplicatives—are restricted horizontally, since the lower numerals are more fully represented than the higher.

2.6.1 Cardinals

Most of the lower cardinals distinguish dir. and obl.:

| | <u>dir.</u> | <u>obl.</u> |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | hɪk | hɪk |
| 2 | C <u>du</u> ~ S <u>dū</u> | C <u>du</u> ~ S <u>dū</u> |
| 3 | træ | trī |
| 4 | car | cāṭ |
| 5 | pañj | C pañjā ~ S pañjē |
| 6 | chi | C chihā ~ S chihē |
| 7 | sat | C satā ~ S satē |
| 8 | ṭṭh | C ṭṭhā ~ S ṭṭhē |
| 9 | naṭ | |
| 10 | <u>daḥ</u> | C <u>daḥā</u> ~ S <u>daḥē</u> |

The obl. of /naṭ/ is not in use, avoiding confusion with /navā/ 'new'.

The lower cardinals (2-10) also have emphatic forms:

| | <u>dir.</u> | <u>obl.</u> |
|---------|---|----------------------------|
| 'both' | <u>duḥē</u> ~ <u>du'hē</u> ~ <u>duhaē</u> | <u>duhā</u> ~ <u>du'hā</u> |
| 'all 3' | trie ~ trai ~ tri'hē | tri'hā |

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 'all 4' | care ~ carai ~ ca'vhē | ca'vhā ~ cavāh |
| 'all 5' | pañje ~ pañjai ~ pañ'jhē | pañ'jhā ~ pañjāh |
| 'all 6' | chihe ~ chihai | chi'hā |
| 'all 7' | sate ~ satai | satāh |
| 'all 8' | ṭhe ~ ṭhai | ṭhāh |
| 'all 9' | na'vhē | na'vhā |
| 'all 10' | da'he | da'hā |

There are many variants, and many forms are unusually accented to mark emphasis and distinction from the corresponding simple forms. S has /ē/ for C /ā/ in the obl. forms.

Obl. forms are not in general use for the cardinals above 10. Here again there are some individual variations, but forms indicated as C or S are typical of each. Major shibboleths between C and S are the set 59- 61-8, and 99:

| | | | |
|----|-------------------|----|-----------------------|
| 11 | yarāh ~ yarhā | 31 | ikattri |
| 12 | barāh ~ barhā | 32 | batri |
| 13 | terāh ~ terhā | 33 | C tētri ~ S tetri |
| 14 | caodāh ~ caodhā | 34 | C caōtri ~ S caotri |
| 15 | pandrāh ~ pandhrā | 35 | C pātri ~ S pætri |
| 16 | solāh ~ solhā | 36 | chatri |
| 17 | satarāh ~ satarhā | 37 | satattri |
| 18 | ṭharāh ~ ṭharhā | 38 | ṭhattri |
| 19 | unvi | 39 | untali |
| 20 | vih | 40 | calhi |
| 21 | ikvi | 41 | iktali |
| 22 | bavi | 42 | batali |
| 23 | trevi | 43 | tirtali |
| 24 | C cavi ~ S covi | 44 | cuntali |
| 25 | pañjvi | 45 | C pāetali ~ S pintali |
| 26 | chavi | 46 | chitali |
| 27 | satavi | 47 | satali |
| 28 | ṭhavi | 48 | ṭhtali |
| 29 | unattri | 49 | unvañjha |
| 30 | trih | 50 | pañ'jah ~ pañ'jha |

| | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----|------------------------|
| 51 | ikvañjha | 76 | chihattar |
| 52 | bavañjha | 77 | salattar |
| 53 | tirvañjha | 78 | aṭhattar |
| 54 | curañjha ~ curvañjha | 79 | unasi |
| 55 | panvañjha | 80 | asi |
| 56 | chirvañjha | 81 | ikasi |
| 57 | satvañjha | 82 | brasi |
| 58 | aṭhvañjha | 83 | tirasi ~ triasi |
| 59 | C unæṭh ~ S unahṛṭh | 84 | curasi |
| 60 | sath | 85 | pañjasi |
| 61 | C ikæṭh ~ S ikahṛṭh | 86 | chiasi |
| 62 | C bæṭh ~ S biahṛṭh | 87 | satasi |
| 63 | C treṭh ~ S triahṛṭh | 88 | aṭhasi |
| 64 | C cæṭh ~ S curahṛṭh ~ cuhṛṭh | 89 | unanve |
| 65 | C pañjæṭh ~ S pañjahṛṭh | 90 | C nave ~ S nive |
| 66 | C chæṭh ~ S chiahṛṭh | 91 | ikanve |
| 67 | C satæṭh ~ S satahṛṭh | 92 | brianve |
| 68 | C aṭhæṭh ~ S aṭhahṛṭh | 93 | trianve ~ tiranve |
| 69 | unhattar | 94 | curanve |
| 70 | satar | 95 | pañjanve |
| 71 | ikattar | 96 | chianve |
| 72 | bahattar | 97 | satanve |
| 73 | tihattar | 98 | aṭhanve |
| 74 | cuhattar | 99 | C nirānve ~ S vadhanve |
| 75 | pañjhattar | | |

Numbers above 99 are expressed by compounds with:

| | |
|------------|-------|
| 100 | sao |
| 1,000 | hazar |
| 100,000 | lakh |
| 10,000,000 | karor |

2.6.2

2.6.2 Ordinals and multiplicatives

These all decline as black adjectives. The lower numerals have many special forms:

| | <u>ordinals</u> | | <u>multiplicatives</u> |
|--------|---------------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| '1st' | pæhla ~ pælha ~ (pahla ~ palha) | | |
| '2nd' | dujha | 'double' | dora |
| '3rd' | trijha | '3 times' | tryora |
| '4th' | caotha | '4 times' | cahora |
| '5th' | pañjvā ~ pañjvhā | '5 times' | pañjora |
| '6th' | chevhā | '6 times' | chiora |
| '7th' | satvā ~ satvhā | '7 times' | satorā |
| '8th' | aṭhvā | '8 times' | aṭhora |
| '9th' | navā | | |
| '10th' | dahvā | '10 times' | dahora |

Higher multiplicatives must be formed on the pattern of /nao samā/ '9 times'. Higher ordinals are formed by the addition of /-vhā/ to the cardinal, or /-vā/ after a preceding aspirate (1.12.6). Only the following ordinals, some of which show change of accent, need be noted:

| | |
|---------|------------------|
| '11th' | yarhvā |
| '19th' | un'vivhā |
| '20th' | vivhā ~ vihvā |
| '40th' | ca'livhā |
| '50th' | pañ'javhā |
| '80th' | a'sivhā |
| '100th' | savhā ~ sa'vivhā |

Only the ordinals of round numbers above '40th' are in common use: there is no ordinal corresponding to /navē/ '90'.

2.6.3 Fractionals

These are of two classes:

a) absolute fractionals

| | | | |
|---------------|--------|----------------|--------------|
| $\frac{1}{4}$ | cuthai | $1\frac{1}{2}$ | dīdh |
| $\frac{1}{3}$ | trihai | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | aḍhai ~ ḍhai |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ | adh | | |

/Adha/ 'half' is an adjective. With quantities only, two other fractionals are in use: /pa man/ ' $\frac{1}{4}$ maund', /muna ser/ ' $\frac{3}{4}$ ser'. Lower fractions must be expressed with the ordinal, as /pañjvā hīsa/ 'one fifth'.

b) modifying fractionals

These are only employed before cardinals:

+ $\frac{1}{4}$ sava

+ $\frac{1}{2}$ sadhe

- $\frac{1}{4}$ paone

/sava/, /dīdh/ and /Adhai ~ dhai/ are used with the higher cardinals /sao hazar lakh karor/ in such phrases as /sava sao/ '125', /dīdh hazar/ '1500' or /Adhai karor/ '25 million'.

2. 7 POSTPOSITIONS

There are various types of postposition (ppn.). Postpositions also differ in the ways in which they are attached to the noun which they modify in a nominal phrase.

2. 7. 1 Types of postposition

a) adjectival postpositions

This is a very restricted class. All except /jiti/ decline as black adjectives:

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
| /da/ | 'of, 's' | /joga/ | '-able' |
| /savā/ | '-like' | /vala ~ ala/ | (various meanings) |
| /jheā/ | '-like' | /jeda/ | 'as big as' |
| /jitla ~ jitna/ | 'as much as' | /jiti/ | 'as many as' |

b) true postpositions

These are not used except as ppns. and are indeclinable. The commonest members of this very restricted class are:

| | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| /kū/ | 'to' | /C do ~ S de ~ do/ | 'towards' |
| /kan ~ kol/ | 'in possession of' | /te/ | 'on' |
| /C kanū ~ S kane/ | 'from' | /ic/ | 'in' |
| /la/ | 'during' | /tū/ | 'from' |

c) ppns. formed from nouns

These are specialized uses of the obl. case of certain nouns, including:

| | | | |
|---------|-------------|----------|-----------|
| /pasa/ | 'direction' | > /pase/ | 'towards' |
| /taraf/ | 'direction' | /taraf/ | 'towards' |
| /kar/ | 'form' | /kar/ | 'like' |

d) ppn./adverbs

These function as ppns. in nominal phrases, as adverbs with verbal phrases (3.4.d). This is a large class, and includes many items representing the specialized use of the obl. (or loc.) of certain nouns. Some common members are:

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| /age/ | 'before' | /piche/ | 'behind' |
| /te/ | 'above' | /tale ~ heth/ | 'below' |
| /andır/ | 'inside' | /bahir ~ bahar/ | 'outside' |
| /pähle ~ pälhe/ | 'before' | /bad/ | 'after' |

Some ppns. in /-e/ are sometimes used with the accented 'comparative' suffix /-ere/ (cf. 2.5.4), thus /agere/ 'a little before'.

e) ablative ppns.

Abl. forms in /-ū/ are commonly derived from all types of ppn. other than adjectival ppns. Post-tonic centralized vowels are dropped before /-ū/, and final /-e/ yields /-ū/, not /-yū/ as might be expected from the abl. sg. of declension I.

The addition of /-ū/ normally gives an abl. sense:

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|
| /ic ~ vic/ | 'in' | /icū ~ vicū/ | 'from in, among' |
| /pase/ | 'towards' | /pasū/ | 'from the direction of' |
| /tale/ | 'below' | /talū/ | 'from below' |
| /andır/ | 'inside' | /andrū/ | 'from inside' |

A similar sense is sometimes conveyed by the use of /kanū/ 'from':

| | | | |
|------|----------|-------------|---------|
| /la/ | 'during' | > /la kanū/ | 'since' |
|------|----------|-------------|---------|

The abl. form is not, however, always confined to an abl. sense. It sometimes acts as an alternative to the simple form, while retaining an abl. sense in other contexts:

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|---------|---------------------|
| /kol ~ kolū/ | 'beside' | /kolū/ | 'from beside, from' |
| /Age ~ Agū/ | 'before' | /Agū/ | 'from before' |
| /hærr ~ h̄arhū/ | 'outside' | /barhū/ | 'from outside' |

In some cases the abl. form functions only as an alternative to the simple form, thus /pæhle ~ pæhlū/ 'before', /bajh ~ bajhū/ 'without': in others it has come to replace the simple form, as in /vāg > vāgū/ 'like'. Some ppns. in /-ū/ have no corresponding simple form, e.g., /mutū/ 'without', /parū/ 'for the sake of'.

2.7.2 Constructions of postpositions

Postpositions are so called because they normally follow the noun which they modify. Several different constructions are possible:

a) ppns. always following a noun or pronoun in obl.

These include the adjectival ppns. /da vala ~ ala/ and the true ppns. /kū do ~ de ~ do te ic la tū/.

b) ppns. following an obl. noun + /de/ or an obl. possessive pronoun

This includes most other ppns., all of which may also follow construction a). But ppns. derived from fem. nouns will have /di/ for /de/, thus /tarāh ~ di tarāh/ 'like': /kar/ is usually constructed with /vala/, as /vali kar ~ ali kar/ 'like'.

c) ppns. following an obl. noun, pronoun or possessive pronoun + /tū ~ kanū ~ kolū/ 'from', or an abl. noun or pronoun

These include /pæhle/ 'before', /bæhr/ 'outside', /pare/ 'beyond', /mutū/ 'without' and their semantic equivalents: all of these may also follow constructions a) or b).

d) 'pre-postpositions'

These may precede the word they modify which will then be obl. + /de/. There are very few ppns. in this class, the commonest being /bağær ~ bin ~ binā/ 'without' and /mare/ 'because of'.

2.8 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Pronouns form a closed class of high-frequency items, having distinctive patterns of inflexion. There are four personal pronouns

only, and a reflexive pronoun which may refer to any person: for the third person the demonstratives are normally used (2.9.1). Pronominal suffixes, used enclitically with verbs, are however found for all three persons: these are discussed in Chapter 5.

2.8.1 Declension of personal pronouns

The four personal pronouns express 1sg., 2sg., 1pl. and 2pl. Their declension is distinguished by the formation of cases other than dir. and obl.: these are the possessive (pos.), directional (dnl.), and the dative-accusative (d-ac.). These cases are formed by the addition of postpositional endings to a modified stem:

| | <u>1sg.</u> | <u>2sg.</u> | <u>1pl.</u> | <u>2pl.</u> |
|-------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| dir. | māe | tū | asā | tusā |
| obl. | māe | tāe ~ N taō | asā | tusā |
| pos. | C mæda ~ S medā | C tæda ~ S tedā | sada ~ asada | tuhada ~ [tusada] |
| dnl. | C mædo ~ S medō | C tædo ~ S tedō | sado ~ asado | tuhado ~ [tusado] |
| d-ac. | C mækū ~ S mekū | C tækū ~ S tekū | sakū ~ asakū | tuhakū ~ [tusakū] |

a) The variant stems are dialectal alternatives in 1sg. and 2sg., in free variation in 1pl., while 2pl. /tusa-/ is now obsolete. All stems are characterized by loss of nasalization.

b) The ending of d-ac. is the ppn. /kū/ 'to', while pos. and dnl. endings are modifications of /da/ 'of' and C /do/ 'towards'. Obsolete forms of pos. found in older poetry are cited in 9.3.5.

c) Other cases analogous with d-ac. are sometimes encountered, but analytic forms with separate ppn. are more frequent, thus /mækan ~ māe kan/ 'with me', /mækanū ~ māe kanū/ 'from me'.

d) Emphatic forms of the dir. and obl. involve contractions with the emphatic particle /i/ (1.11.2), thus dir. /maī tuī asāī tusāī/: the only distinctive obl. is 2sg. /taī/.

e) A distinctive form of 1pl. is used in the area around Bahawalpur City:

| | |
|---------|---------------|
| d. = o. | apā |
| pos. | apā da ~ apna |

This is also found in Malvai P: it is not to be confused with the reflexive pronoun.

2.8.2 Reflexive pronoun

This has a quite distinct pattern of inflexion:

| | |
|---------|-------------|
| d. = o. | ap |
| pos. | apna ~ apna |
| d-ac. | apne ap kũ |
| loc.pl. | apat ic |

There is also an emphatic form of d./o., /ape/.

2.9 SIMPLE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS

The set of six simple correlative pronouns comprises the proximate and remote demonstratives, the interrogative, relative, correlative and indefinite pronouns. These share a common pattern of declension, having one form for dir. (sg. and pl.), but distinctive forms for o. sg. and o. pl.: true postpositional cases are less used than with the personal pronouns.

2.9.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The two demonstratives, especially the remote, are very commonly used as personal pronouns for 3sg. and 3pl. Their inflexion is parallel throughout:

| | <u>proximate</u> | <u>remote</u> |
|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| sg. dir. | e | o |
| obl. | ī ~ hī ~ īh | ū ~ hū ~ ūh |
| pos. | īda | ūda |
| d-ac. | ikū ~ ī kũ | ukū ~ ū kũ |
| pl. dir. | e | o |
| obl. | C inhā ~ S inhē ~ hinē | C unhā ~ S unhē ~ hunē |
| pos. | C mhakū ~ inhā kũ | C unhakū ~ unhā kũ |

a) o. sg. /hī hū/ are perhaps more characteristic of S than C, and are slightly emphatic, but less so than /īh ūh/. In educated colloquial speech U /is us/ are commonly used as alternatives for the o. sg., especially in a neuter sense: the distinction may also be made by the use of obl. + ppn. in contrast to obl. of pos. + ppn., thus /is vaste ~ ī vaste/ 'for this (reason), so' vs. /īde vaste/ 'for this (person), for him'.

b) pos. sg. forms are single words, but the corresponding pl. forms are analysed as two, thus /inhā da/: d-ac. is either two words, or one (with loss of nasalization), in both sg. and pl. (1.11.2).

c) The distinction C /-ā/ vs. S /-ē/ in o. pl. is analogous with that in declensions I-IV. S also has o. pl. /inhaē ~ hinaē unhaē ~ hunaē/.

d) S has another pair of demonstratives, /eba oba/. These have a strong deictic sense, as 'this one over here, that one over there', but are also used as third-person pronouns. They decline as black adjectives.

2.9.2 Interrogative, relative and correlative pronouns

These three follow an identical paradigm. The correlative pronoun, though frequent in older poetry, is now obsolete:

| | <u>interrogative</u> | <u>relative</u> | <u>correlative</u> |
|----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| sg. dir. | kaon kīa | jo | [so] |
| obl. | kāē | jāē | [tāē] |
| pos. | C kēda ~ S kēda | C jāda ~ S jēda | [C tēda] |
| d-ac. | C kækū ~ S kekū ~ kāē kū | C jækū ~ S jekū ~ jāē kū | [C tēda] [tāē kū] |
| pl. dir. | kaon | jo | [so] |
| obl. | C kīnhā ~ S kīnhē | C jīnhā ~ S jīnhē | [C tīnhā ~ S tmhē] |

a) /kīa/ is neuter, 'what?', and has replaced older /[ca]/.

b) U /kīs jis/ are often employed in a neuter sense in o. sg., like /is us/. Obsolete forms of o. sg. include neuter interrogative /[kīth]/ and the emphatic forms, commonly found in older poetry, /[jahī tahī]/.

c) S also has o. pl. /kīnhāē jīnhāē/. The pos. pl. will be written as two words, the d-ac. pl. as one or as two, thus C /kīnhakū ~ kīnhā kū/.

2.9.3 Indefinite pronoun

The paradigm is rather different from the above:

| | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|------------------|------|
| sg. dir. | [koi] > koi (m.) | [kai] > kai (f.) | kujh |
| obl. | kāhī | | |
| pl. dir. | [kei] > kai | | |
| obl. | C kīnhā ~ S kīnhē ~ kīnhāē | | |

a) The vowel alternation in obsolete forms of dir. still characterizes some emphatic pronouns (2.10.c). The distinction of gender in dir. sg. is often confused in modern colloquial speech in favour of /kai/, probably in imitation of U P which have only /koi/. /kujh/ is neuter, 'something'.

b) o. sg. /kahī/ is to be compared with older emphatic /[jahī tahī]/: o. pl. is identical with the interrogative. [Elsewhere, too, indefinites are formally closely related to interrogatives (3.2).] The o. pl. /kaiā/ has the sense of 'many'.

2.10 OTHER PRONOUNS

Three further classes of pronoun are to be distinguished on the basis of their inflexion:

a) /bea/ 'other'

This is a pronominal adjective declined as a black adjective in /-ea/ (2.5.1), but with o. pl. like that of the simple correlative pronouns:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|----------|---|---|
| sg. dir. | C <u>bea</u> ~ S <u>bia</u> | C <u>bai</u> ~ S <u>bi</u> |
| obl. | C <u>bæ</u> ~ S <u>be</u> | C <u>bai</u> ~ S <u>bi</u> |
| pl. dir. | C <u>bæ</u> ~ S <u>be</u> | C <u>beā</u> ~ N <u>baiā</u> ~ S <u>biā</u> |
| obl. | C <u>bīnhā</u> ~ S <u>bīnhē</u> ~ <u>bīnhaē</u> | |
| d-ac. | C <u>bīnhakū</u> ~ <u>bīnhā</u> <u>kū</u> | |

b) /yaka/ 'whole, all' is another pronominal adjective, regularly declined as a black adjective, but with the pronominal o. pl. /C yaknā ~ S yaknē ~ yaknaē/. /sabh/ 'all' and /hik/ 'some', otherwise uninflected, have a similar o. pl.: C forms are /sabhnā hīknā/.

c) emphatics

Emphatic forms of /sabh/ and /hik/, and the emphatic demonstratives /iho/ 'this very' and /vho/ 'that very' have a common pattern of vowel alternation in dir. like that of obsolete forms of the indefinite pronoun. The emphatic demonstratives also have distinctive forms in the o. sg.:

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-------|------|-----|------|
| sg. dir. | <u>mas.</u> | sabho | hiko | iho | uvho |
| | <u>fem.</u> | sabha | hika | iha | uvha |
| obl. | | sabhe | hike | ihī | uhī |
| pl. dir. | | sabhe | hike | ihe | uvhe |

For the o. pl. simple forms with emphatic /i/ are used.

2.11 CORRELATIVE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVE SETS

There are a number of correlative sets of pronominal adjectives, whose members are distinguished by their initial sounds as:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| 1) proximate demonstrative | in /e- i-/ |
| 2) remote demonstrative | in /o- u-/ |
| 3) correlative | in /te- ti-/ |
| 4) relative | in /je- ji-/ |
| 5) interrogative | in /ke- ki-/ |

Since the correlative members are now obsolete, and used only in set phrases and compounds, they are omitted from the list of sets in active use:

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| a) | [eṛha] | jerha ~ jeṛha | kerha ~ keṛha | 'which?' |
| b) | | jheā ~ jehā | kehā ~ kīhā | 'like what?' |
| c) | | jejheā | kejheā | 'like what?' |
| d) | ejhā ojhā | jejhā | kejhā | 'like what?' |
| e) | eda | jeda | keda | 'how big?' |
| f) | ejeda ojeda | | kejeda | 'how big?' |
| g) | itvā utvā | jitvā | kītvā ~ kīnvā | 'which?' |
| h) | itla utla | jitla | kītla | 'how much?' |
| i) | itna utna | jitna | kītna | 'how much?' |
| j) | iti uti | jiti | kīti | 'how many?' |

Meanings are given for the interrogative, /jheā/ and the other relatives /jeda ... jiti/ may also be adjectival postpositions (2.7.1.a), and give rise to further sets when used with pronouns, thus /ī jheā/ 'like this'.

/[eṛha]/ is obsolete, but /jerha ~ jeṛha/ is very common as an equivalent of the relative pronoun /jo/, as is /kerha ~ keṛha/ of the interrogative /kaon/.

Sets b), c) and d) are of equivalent meaning: so too are sets e) and f). Set g) implies an ordinal, and only the interrogative is common, in the sense of 'which, in order of number?'.

Sets h) and i) are also equivalent, although the latter, presumably a loan from U, is less frequent in the plural sense of 'how many?'. Only set j) is indeclinable, and there is a variant with /-ē/ for /-i/: this is characteristic of the trans-Indus area.

2.12 COMPOUND PRONOUNS

Many compound pronouns involve the use of a relative as first member:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| /jo kvi ~ jerha kvi/ | 'whoever' | /jo kujh/ | 'whatever' |
| /jiti kiti/ | 'however much' | /jejhā tejhā/ | 'of whatever kind' |

Indefinite pronouns may be reduplicated with intervening /nA/:

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| /kvi nA kvi/ | 'someone or other' | /kujh nA kujh/ | 'something or other' |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|

Indefinites are also common as the second member of compound pronouns after pronominal adjectives:

| | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| /bea kvi/ | 'someone else' | /bea kujh/ | 'something else' |
| /har kvi/ | 'everyone' | /sabho kujh/ | 'everything' |
| /sabh kvi/ | 'everyone' | /itla kujh/ | 'as much as this' |

Both elements decline where possible in all compound pronouns.

CHAPTER 3

PARTICLES

3.1 WORD CLASSES

Particles constitute a residual class of words which can be treated neither under the heading of the noun above nor of the verb below. The category broadly corresponds to that denoted in traditional local grammar as *ḥarf* as opposed to *ism* (noun) and *ʿe'l* (verb). In traditional western terms four types of particle can be distinguished:

a) adverbs, used as extensions of either nominal or verbal phrases, and themselves comprising a number of sub-classes (3. 2-4)

b) emphatic particles, a small category, most of which are enclitics (3. 5)

c) conjunctions, which articulate sentences and clauses as well as individual words and phrases (3. 6)

d) interjections, which often stand outside the sentence structure altogether (3. 7)

Most particles are uninflected, and the following treatment is therefore largely confined to cataloguing the principal members of each type, whose syntactic functions are discussed in later chapters.

3.2 CORRELATIVE ADVERB SETS

A central core-set of true adverbs is made up of a number of sets whose members are distinguished by the same kind of initial alternation as that described for the correlative pronominal adjective sets (2. 11). Some members of the correlative set in /t-/ are in common use, and there are many emphatic forms, distinguished by aspiration, change of accent, or both: emphatic forms of the interrogative set in /k-/ are specialized as indefinite.

There are large number of horizontal sets in use, and meanings are given for the last item of each:

adverbs of time

| | | | | | |
|----|---------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| a) | [ʔadən] | tadən | jadən | kadən | 'when?' |
| b) | | tadā | jadā | kadā | 'when?' |

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| c) | t <u>ad</u> āh | | k <u>ad</u> āh | 'ever' |
| d) | t <u>ad</u> ahī | | k <u>ad</u> ahī | 'ever' |
| e) | t <u>ad</u> ū | j <u>ad</u> ū | k <u>ad</u> ū | 'when?' |
| f) | e t <u>ai</u> o t <u>ai</u> | je t <u>ai</u> | ke t <u>ai</u> | 'till when?' |

All relative adverbs in /j-/ may of course be analysed as conjunctions. Sets a) and b) are in free variation, while set e) is S. Sets c) and d) are also in free variation: the correlative members in /t-/ are emphatic, with the sense of 'at that very time, right then', while the pair in /k-/ are specialized as indefinites. The use of correlative forms in /t-/ in all these sets to the exclusion of the elsewhere now general demonstrative forms is noteworthy.

In set f) /tai/ 'till' may be freely replaced by /toni/ 'till'. The set contrasts with the use of these ppns. with the demonstrative pronouns, thus /o tai/ 'till then' vs. /ū tai/ 'till that, to him'.

adverbs of place

| | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| g) | ith | uth | jith | kith | 'where?' |
| h) | ithā | uthā | jithā | kithā | 'where?' |
| i) | ithahī | uthahī | [jithahī] | kithahī | 'wherever' |
| j) | ithū | uthū | jithū | kithū | 'whence?' |
| k) | ithahū | uthahū | [jithahū] | kithahū | 'from anywhere' |
| l) | in | un | | [kin] | 'whither?' |
| m) | inte | unte | jinte | kinte | 'whither?' |
| n) | ede ~ idē | ode ~ udē | jede ~ jidē | kede ~ kidē | 'whither?' |
| o) | [id <u>ah</u> ī] | [ud <u>ah</u> ī] | [jid <u>ah</u> ī] | kid <u>ah</u> ī | 'to anywhere' |
| p) | inū | unū | j <u>in</u> ū | kinū | 'whence?' |
| q) | edū | odū | j <u>ed</u> ū | kedū | 'whence?' |

Correlative adverbs of place in /t-/ are now quite obsolete, although they are encountered in the older poetry. Sets i), k) and o) are emphatic, with the form in /k-/ specialized as an indefinite: forms without intervocalic /h/ are in free variation with those listed, thus /ithahī ~ ithāī/ 'right here'. It would be possible to designate sets l), m), p) as C vs. S n), q), but there is in practice much mutual borrowing.

The abl. sets in /-ū/, j), p) and q), are also often employed as alternatives to simple sets without /-ū/ with a following ppn., thus /ithū la kanū uthū tai/ 'from here to there'.

adverbs of manner

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|-----------|
| r) Ī | ū | | | | 'thus' |
| s) ivē | uvē | [tivē] | jivē | kivē | 'how?' |
| t) | | | | kivhē | 'somehow' |
| u) | | | kiū | | 'why?' |

Set s) is commoner than the incomplete r), while there are no other members of set ū).

3.2.1 Compound correlative adverbs

These horizontal sets are further extended by the use of two adverbs, usually of the same set, to form compounds. These are of similar type to the compound pronouns (2.12):

a) proximate demonstrative + remote demonstrative:

/ithā ūhā/ 'here and there' /inte unte/ 'all round'

b) relative + correlative:

/jivē tivē/ 'somehow or other'

c) relative + interrogative:

/jithā kiṭhā/ 'wherever' /jede kede/ 'whithersoever'

d) relative + indefinite:

/jadā kaḍahī/ 'whenever'

e) indefinite + /na/ + indefinite:

| | | | |
|-------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| /kiṭhahī na | 'somewhere | /kivhē na | 'somehow or |
| kiṭhahī/ | or other' | kivhē/ | other' |

f) pronominal adjective + indefinite:

/bea kiṭhahī/ 'somewhere else'

3.2.2 Correlative adverbial phrase sets

Many additional horizontal sets are formed with the appropriate pronoun modifying a noun in obl. (loc.) sg., with or without following ppn.: many of these adverbial phrases are in such common use that they deserve listing as separate items. The correlative pronoun is not used in these sets, and the pronominal adjectives /jerha kerha/ often replace the relative and interrogative pronouns. Very commonly used sets are:

| | | | | | |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| ī vele | ū vele | jerhe vele | kerhe vele | kaḥī vele | 'sometime' |
| ī jah te | ū jah te | jerhi jah te | kerhi jah te | kaḥī jah te | 'at some place' |

| | | | | | |
|---------|---------|------------|------------|------------|---------------------|
| ī pase | ū pase | jerhe pase | kerhe pase | kaḥī pase | 'in some direction' |
| ī tarāḥ | ū tarāḥ | jā tarāḥ | kā tarāḥ | kaḥī tarāḥ | 'in some way' |

The first set, equivalent in meaning to the simple adverbs of time (3.2 a-e), is particularly common, and liable to contraction, thus in effect yielding a fresh simple set in colloquial usage: cf. /jerhle ~ jele/ 'when', /kerhle/ 'when?'.

3.3 NEGATIVE ADVERBS

This important class has only two basic members:

| | | | |
|------|-------|------------|-------|
| /na/ | 'not' | /nhī ~ nī/ | 'not' |
|------|-------|------------|-------|

Besides the free variants /nhī ~ nī/ there is an emphatic form /naḥī/.

The selection of /na/ or /nhī ~ nī/ is determined by the form of the verb with which they are used, and rules are explained under the appropriate headings below (4.14-16).

Both negative adverbs are frequently strengthened by the prefixes /koi- ~ kə-/ which are cognate with the indefinite pronoun (2.9.3). /kənā kənḥī ~ kənī/ are much commoner than /koinā koinḥī ~ koinī/, and the contrast between them is now rather one of emphasis, the rarer forms being the more emphatic, than one of concord, as would be suggested by analogy with the older forms of the indefinite pronoun, /[koi]/ m. vs. /[kai]/ f.

3.4 OTHER ADVERBS

Many types of word, especially adjectives and certain forms of the verb, are freely used as adverbs (6.4; 7.12). In addition to these and to the types of adverb already listed there are several other classes of word which are to a greater or less degree specialized as adverbs:

a) true adverbs

These are words used only as adverbs. Important members of this very restricted class are:

| | | | |
|--------|-------------|--------------|------------------------|
| /Δj/ | 'to-day' | /Δjā ~ Δjan/ | 'still, yet' |
| /kaḥ/ | 'yesterday' | /kaḥatthū/ | 'day before yesterday' |
| /ḥuḥ/ | 'now' | /ḥuḥe/ | 'just now' |
| /sada/ | 'always' | /hamešā/ | 'always' |

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------|------------|
| /bahū/ | 'very' | /siraf/ | 'only' |
| /haole/ | 'slowly' | /masā/ | 'hardly' |
| /C harū bharū | | /acacet/ | 'suddenly' |
| ~ S haro bharo/ | 'willy nilly' | /abargūt/ | 'suddenly' |

b) specialized nominal forms

Some adverbs represent specialized uses of the loc. or abl. of certain nouns:

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------|---|----------------------|--------------------------|
| /[orak]/ | 'end' | > | /orik/ | 'in the end, at last' |
| /sabab/ | 'morning' | | /sababī ~ sabhaī/ | 'to-morrow' |
| /savel/ | 'good time' | | /savele/ | 'in good time, early' |
| /asal/ | 'root' | | /aslū/ | 'altogether' |
| /munḍh/ | 'root' | | /munḍhū/ | 'altogether' |

The use of specialized pronominal forms is much more restricted, but from the obsolete correlative pronoun is derived the still active /tahī ~ tahū/ 'for this reason'.

c) specialized verbal forms

The catenative participle of some verbs (4.9.1), corresponding to the verbal root, has a specialized meaning as an adverb. The commonest of such adverbs are:

| | | | | |
|---------|------------|---|--------|---------------|
| /ghaṭ-/ | 'lessen' | > | /ghaṭ/ | 'less' |
| /vadh-/ | 'increase' | | /vadh/ | 'more' |
| /val-/ | 'return' | | /val/ | 'then, again' |
| /vat-/ | 'wander' | | /vat/ | 'then' |

d) ppn./adverbs

These function as ppns. in nominal phrases, as adverbs with verbal phrases (2.7.1.d). Ppn./adverbs in /-e/ may have the accented 'comparative' suffix /-ere/ in their adverbial as well as their postpositional uses. They also have emphatic forms, but only when used as adverbs, thus:

| <u>ppn./adverb</u> | <u>adverb (emphatic)</u> | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| /age/ | /agā te ~ agāh te/ | 'before' |
| /piche/ | /pichā te/ | 'after, afterwards' |

| | | |
|--------|------------|----------------|
| /pare/ | /parhā te/ | 'beyond' |
| /ure/ | /orhā te/ | 'on this side' |

3.5 EMPHATIC PARTICLES

These are mostly enclitics, following the word or phrase to which they impart emphasis. The emphasis is realized prosodically in speech by the raising of the pitch of the tonic syllable of the word chiefly emphasized (8.7).

The simple emphatic particle is /i ~ [hi]/, an enclitic which may occur freely in association with nominal or verbal phrases or any part of these. In a few restricted sets of words the emphatic enclitic has become an integral part of the word, involving a transfer of accent (1.11.2).

Other emphatic particles include /vi/ 'also, too', /tā ~ tā/ 'then, so', the sentence-final /nā/ 'n'est-ce pas?', and the verbal emphatics /ca hā/. The functions of these and other emphatic particles are best discussed in the context of the sentence (8.7.2).

3.6 CONJUNCTIONS

Two classes of conjunction are to be distinguished:

a) co-ordinating conjunctions

These may link words, phrases or sentences. They are few in number, but of correspondingly high frequency:

| | | | |
|------------|-------|-------------|------|
| /te ~ ate/ | 'and' | /ya ~ (ja)/ | 'or' |
| /par/ | 'but' | | |

The first of these varies as /tē ~ atē/ in the trans-Indus area. Other co-ordinating conjunctions regularly appear before each member of a linked pair:

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| /ya .. ya .. / | 'either .. or ..' | /na .. na .. / | 'neither .. nor ..' |
| /kia .. | 'whether .. | | |
| kia .. / | or ..' | | |

Synonyms for the last of these include /bhavē .. bhavē .., cahe .. cahe .., hīke .. hīke .., xah .. xah .. ~ xah .. xah .. /.

b) subordinating conjunctions

These link only sentences (clauses), not words or phrases, and their function is discussed more fully below (8.8.2-3). The commonest subordinating conjunction is /jo/ 'that', sometimes replaced in educated speech and in writing by U /ke/ 'that': this

alternation gives rise to some other common pairs, such as /kiũjo ~ kiũke/ 'because', /lãjo ~ lãke/ 'so that'. Other types of subordinate clause are introduced by /bhal ~ balke/ 'rather', /matã ~ mabada/ 'lest', /jane ~ yani/ 'that is', /nhĩ tã/ 'otherwise', and a few others.

Pairs of conjunctions are very commonly employed to introduce parallel clauses of which the first is subordinated to the second, thus:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| /je ~ jekar, tã / | 'if ..., (then)' |
| /toře jo, val vi / | 'although ..., (even so)' |

/je ~ jekar/ also has an emphatic variant /jekarahĩ/ and in educated speech may be replaced by U /agar/: /toře jo/ may similarly be replaced by U /agarce/. All relative adverbs in /j-/ (2.2) may function as the first members of such pairs.

3.7 INTERJECTIONS

Two classes call for special mention:

a) interjections of affirmation and negation

These may be ranked in ascending order of courtesy as:

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| /ha jiha = U hã ji/ | 'yes' |
| /nahĩ = naĩ na C ko/ | 'no' |

/ko/ is distinctively C, and is normally used in the sense of 'no, sorry, I haven't': the final vowel is markedly short and open.

/na/ 'no' may be strengthened as /koina ~ kœna/ (3.3).

b) vocative interjections

These may be used with nouns in the voc. The commonest are the respectable /œ/ 'o!' and the vulgar /œ/ 'hey', while in rustic speech there is a complete set for gender: a man using /vo/ to a man, /nĩ/ to a woman, while a woman uses /ve/ to a man and /van ~ vane/ to a woman.

Most interjections stand outside the structure of the sentence, and a complete inventory is appropriate to a dictionary, not to a grammar. Other interjections include nouns used in specialized senses, e.g., /šukur/ 'thanks be to God!', and common Islamic phrases like /bismillah/ 'in the name of God', as well as such 'true' interjections as /sala ~ kaš/ 'would that', /hae hae/ 'alas!', /oho/ 'o dear!', /šabas/ 'bravo!'. Some such interjections are on the borderline between words and special noises, e.g., /phurr/ 'fly away!' (to birds), /hušš/ 'sit down!' (to camels).

CHAPTER 4

THE VERB

4.1 VERBAL INFLEXION

The verb is distinguished from the noun by a much more complex system of inflexion. While many features of this system are quite widely shared with neighbouring languages, the closest parallels are with Si, notably in the regular formation of passive as well as causative stems (4.5), in the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in the present and the future (4.6), in the maintenance of the distinction between infinitive and gerundive (4.8), in the retention of many irregular past participles (4.12-13), and particularly in the extensive use of pronominal suffixes with verbal forms (Chapter 5). Other features are distinct even from Si, however: these include the formation of the future (4.14.5), and the treatment of the present auxiliary (4.15; 5.6).

The complexity of the inflexion of the verb necessarily involves much cross-referencing in the following exposition, which deals in linear order with the formation of roots and stems (4.2-6), the addition of morphemes (4.7) to form verbal nouns and participles (4.8-13) as well as some tenses (4.14), the auxiliary verb (4.15) and the derived periphrastic tenses (4.16). Forms with pronominal suffixes are dealt with in Chapter 5, and compound verbal phrases more complex than the pattern negator + verb + auxiliary + suffix in Chapter 7.

4.2 ROOTS

The root is an idealized form of the verbal base to which inflexional morphemes may be directly added, or which may be modified to produce various secondary stems to which morphemes are then added.

Roots are either monosyllabic or disyllabic, the great majority being monosyllabic. This distinction cuts across the primary division of formal types of root into three classes, each entailing different patterns of modification when inflected.

4.2.1

4.2.1 Vowel-roots

a) monosyllabic

Only the four peripheral vowels /a i e o/ seem to occur, as exemplified by:

| | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|---------|
| /kha-/ | 'eat' | /pi-/ | 'drink' |
| /de-/ | 'give' | /po-/ | 'fall' |

Nasalized vowels are possible, thus /gã-/ 'sing': and the single root ending in a semi-vowel /bhāv-/ 'turn' is also to be assigned to this class.

b) disyllabic

While few roots belong to this class, it includes all derived stems. Only final accent is possible:

| | | | |
|----------|--------|----------|----------|
| /ka'ma-/ | 'earn' | /sa'mo-/ | 'gather' |
|----------|--------|----------|----------|

4.2.2 /h/-roots

These are intermediate between vowel- and consonant-roots in terms of the inflexional system. All are monosyllabic:

| | | | |
|--------|----------------|---------|---------|
| /rah-/ | 'remain, live' | /pih-/ | 'grind' |
| /leh-/ | 'lick' | /druh-/ | 'drag' |
| /doh-/ | 'milk' | | |

4.2.3 Consonant-roots

a) monosyllabic

Most roots end in a single consonant:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| /likh-/ | 'write' | /dekh-/ | 'see' |
|---------|---------|---------|-------|

Only combinations of consonants admitted as final clusters (1.9.3) may occur, and these only after centralized vowels:

| | | | |
|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| /mutr-/ | 'urinate' | /limb-/ | 'plaster' |
|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|

b) disyllabic

Only single final consonants are possible, and the commonest consonants are /r ɾ l/. Two sub-types are to be distinguished, of which the first has initial accent and post-tonic /-ʌ-/:

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------|----------|-------------------|
| /ʊbʌl-/ | 'boil' | /pʌkʌr-/ | 'seize' |
| /viʌr-/ | 'forget' | /viʌm-/ | 'be extinguished' |
| /sʌmʌjh-/ | 'understand' | | |

The second type has an accented peripheral vowel in the second syllable:

/b'bal-/ 'boil' /ma'ror-/ 'twist'

4.3 INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE ROOT PAIRS

The semantic distinction between intransitive (intr.) and transitive (tr.) verbs is reflected in differences both of inflexion (4.6, 5.3) and of construction (8.3). There are also several sets of formally linked intr. and tr. root pairs. These sets are closed, since the processes which gave rise to the pairs are no longer active:

a) intr. with centralized vowel: tr. with peripheral vowel

The correspondences are as noted in 1.2:

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| /mar-/ | 'die' | /mar-/ | 'kill' |
| /mil-/ | 'meet' | /mel-/ | 'join' |
| /tur-/ | 'go' | /tor-/ | 'drive' |

Disyllabic consonant-roots exhibit a change of accent:

| | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|--------|
| /ubal-/ | 'boil' | /u'bal-/ | 'boil' |
|---------|--------|----------|--------|

Vowel-transfer is also involved in the two types illustrated by:

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| /nikhar-/ | 'be separated' | /na'kher-/ | 'separate' |
| /ukhar-/ | 'be unravelled' | /a'khor-/ | 'unravel' |

b) alteration of final consonant

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------------|---------|
| /bha ₁ j-/ | 'break' | /bhan-/ | 'break' |
| /ja ₁ p-/ | 'be known' | /ja ₁ n-/ | 'know' |

With change of vowel:

| | | | |
|--------|--------------|--------|---------|
| /bud-/ | 'be drowned' | /bor-/ | 'drown' |
|--------|--------------|--------|---------|

c) loss of final consonant in tr.

| | | | |
|---------|------------|--------|-------|
| /khaj-/ | 'be eaten' | /kha-/ | 'eat' |
| /sip-/ | 'be sewn' | /si-/ | 'sew' |

With change of vowel:

| | | | |
|---------|----------|--------|----------|
| /tap-/ | 'be hot' | /ta-/ | 'heat' |
| /dhuk-/ | 'arrive' | /dho-/ | 'convey' |

Vowel-roots can only be paired in this pattern, or in a few anomalous pairs:

| | | | |
|-------|--------|-------|---------|
| /a-/ | 'come' | /an-/ | 'bring' |
| /po-/ | 'lie' | /pa-/ | 'put' |

Sometimes there is no formal linkage, merely a close semantic opposition between intr. and tr., thus:

/nɪkəl-/ 'go out' /kɑdʰ-/ 'remove'

4.4 CAUSATIVE STEMS

Most roots may be extended by the addition of accented /-ʼa/ to form the simple causative stem, of accented /-ʼva/ to form the double causative. The transfer of the accent to the causative extensions entails weakening of the root by the reduction of peripheral to centralized vowels. Patterns of causative formation are governed by the root type (4.2):

a) vowel-roots

Only the double causative of monosyllabic roots is used:

/kha-/ 'eat' /khava-/

/ji-/ 'live' /jiva-/

/de-/ 'give' /diva-/

In two patterns /v/ may be omitted in the double causative:

/po-/ 'lie' /puva- ~ pva-/

/bhāv-/ 'turn' /bhāva- ~ bhvā-/

b) /h/-roots and monosyllabic consonant-roots

Both simple and double causatives are possible:

/lah-/ 'descend' /laha-/ /lahva-/

/kar-/ 'do' /kara-/ /karva-/

/bhej-/ 'send' /bhija-/ /bhijva-/

/gol-/ 'search' /gula-/ /gulva-/

c) disyllabic consonant-roots

Post-tonic /-ʌ-/ is lost in the simple causative:

/pakar-/ 'seize' /pakra-/ /pakarva-/

Roots with final accent have only the double causative:

/ubal-/ 'boil' /ubalva-/

d) irregular causatives

Two roots have an /-l-/ infix in the causatives:

/bāh-/ 'sit' /bilha-/ /bilhva-/

/pi-/ 'drink' /pila-/ /pilva-/

Minor irregularities in the formation of the causatives are present in:

| | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| /bhaðk-/ | 'bark' | /bhuka-/ | /bhukva-/ |
| /paðhc-/ | 'arrive' | /puca-/ | /pucva-/ |
| /dhruk-/ | 'run' | /dhurka-/ | /dhrukva-/ |

4.4.1 Semantic distinctions

The simple causative, or the double causative when it alone is in use, of an intr. verb represents its conversion to the corresponding tr., that of a tr. to the causal of its passive. When the simple causative is also in use, the double causative of an intr. represents its causal, but is not always clearly distinguished in meaning from the simple causative: the double causative of a tr. often represents a greater stress on the idea of causing a third party to participate in the action.

In a small class of verbs the now general causative exists as the tr. of an intr. root alongside an older tr. with modified vowel (4.3) from which it is differentiated in meaning:

| | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------|---------|-----------|-----|----------|-------------|
| /gal-/ | 'be destroyed, | /gal-/ | 'destroy' | vs. | /gala-/ | 'melt' |
| | melt' | | | | | |
| /mil-/ | 'meet' | /mel-/ | 'join' | vs. | /mila-/ | 'introduce' |
| /phir-/ | 'turn' | /pher-/ | 'turn' | vs. | /phira-/ | 'whirl' |

The causative has come to be used to the exclusion of older tr. with modified vowel in the case of roots in /-ah-/ as a consequence of the recent falling together of original /ah/ and /aɦ/ (1.12.3), thus modern /laɦa-/ 'make descend' for older /[lah-]/.

Semantic distinctions between root and causative stem are not always present, thus /das- ~ dása-/ 'tell'. But in other cases the causative effectively represents a new verb of substantially different meaning:

| | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|-----|----------|---------|-----------|
| /paṛh-/ | 'read, study' | vs. | /paṛha-/ | 'teach' | /paṛhva-/ |
| /dekh-/ | 'see' | | /dikhā-/ | 'show' | /dikhva-/ |
| /sun-/ | 'hear' | | /sunā-/ | 'tell' | /sunva-/ |

Here the double causative functions as the causal of the simple causative. Such pairs blur the distinction made here between a primary 'root' and a derived causative 'stem' in order to emphasize the formal analogies between the latter and other expanded stems.

4.5 PASSIVE STEMS

Some intr. members of root pairs are clearly passive in sense, e.g., /sip-/ 'be sewn' (4.3). The passive may also be formed peri-

phrastically (7.7.2.c). Tr. roots may freely be modified to form passive stems, although these are not as frequently used as the causatives. Accented /-'ij/ is added to consonant-roots, including /h/-roots, with weakening of the root:

| | | | |
|--------|-------------|----------|----------------------|
| /akh-/ | 'say, call' | /akhij-/ | 'be said, be called' |
| /mar-/ | 'kill' | /marij-/ | 'be killed' |
| /kar-/ | 'do' | /karij-/ | 'be done' |

Disyllabic roots lose post-tonic /-a-/, and final accented vowels are transferred in weakened form to the first syllable of the passive stem:

| | | | |
|----------|---------|-----------|--------------|
| /pakar-/ | 'seize' | /pakrij-/ | 'be seized' |
| /maror-/ | 'twist' | /murrij-/ | 'be twisted' |

Monosyllabic vowel-roots add /-'vij/:

| | | | |
|--------|--------|-----------|------------|
| /kha-/ | 'eat' | /khavij-/ | 'be eaten' |
| /de-/ | 'give' | /divij-/ | 'be given' |

The only disyllabic vowel-roots to have passive stems end in /-'a/, which changes to /-'ij/:

| | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| /parna-/ | 'marry' | /parnij-/ | 'be married' |
| /bišra-/ | 'dazzle' | /bišrij-/ | 'be dazzled' |

Causatives do not normally give rise to passive stems, except where the meaning is markedly different from the root verb, and the latter is intr.:

| | | | | | |
|--------|------|-------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| /vañ-/ | 'go' | vs. /vaña-/ | 'destroy' | /vañij-/ | 'be destroyed' |
|--------|------|-------------|-----------|----------|----------------|

A special case is:

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------|----------|--------|-----------|-------------|
| /bah-/ | 'sit' | /bilha-/ | 'seat' | /bilhij-/ | 'be seated' |
|--------|-------|----------|--------|-----------|-------------|

The meaning of the passive stem is otherwise obvious. The commonest examples are such natural deponents as /akhij-/ 'be called' or /parnij-/ 'be married'. In older texts a few intr. verbs, especially /dis- nazar-/ 'appear, seem', are frequently used as deponent passives, but this is now quite obsolete. The passive stems of roots in /-j/ are avoided for euphonic reasons.

4.6 PRESENT-FUTURE STEM

As its name implies, the present-future (pr.-fut.) stem is secondary within the verbal system, being employed for the formation only of the present participle and the future. It thus differs from the primary stems of the causatives and the passive, from which distinctive pr.-fut. stems may be formed.

Rules for the formation of the pr.-fut. stem are rather more complex than for the primary stems, being determined not only by the formal type of root or primary stem, but by whether these are passive, intr. or tr.

4.6.1 Passive stems

These lose final /-j/ in the pr.-fut. stem:

| | | |
|----------|-------------|------------------|
| /marij-/ | 'be killed' | pr.-fut. /mari-/ |
|----------|-------------|------------------|

4.6.2 Intransitive verbs

These normally make no change for the pr.-fut. stem, whatever the formal type of root:

| | | |
|----------|----------|----------------|
| /ji-/ | 'live' | pr.-fut. /ji-/ |
| /kuma-/ | 'wither' | /kuma-/ |
| /raħ-/ | 'remain' | /raħ-/ |
| /mar-/ | 'die' | /mar-/ |
| /nikal-/ | 'go out' | /nikal-/ |

Exceptions are dealt with below (4.6.4).

4.6.3 Transitive verbs

Changes are determined by the type of root:

a) vowel-roots and /h/-roots

These normally make no change for the pr.-fut. stem:

| | | |
|--------|--------|----------------|
| /de-/ | 'give' | pr.-fut. /de-/ |
| /caħ-/ | 'want' | /caħ-/ |

The special case of roots in /-a/ is discussed below (4.6.4).

b) consonant-roots

These normally add accented /-'e/ with the usual weakening of the root:

| | | |
|--------|----------|------------------|
| /kar-/ | 'do' | pr.-fut. /kare-/ |
| /mar-/ | 'kill' | /mare-/ |
| /vec-/ | 'sell' | /vice-/ |
| /gol-/ | 'search' | /gule-/ |

Disyllabic roots with initial accent lose post-tonic /-a-/:

| | | |
|----------|---------|----------|
| /pakar-/ | 'seize' | /pakre-/ |
|----------|---------|----------|

4.6.3

Those with final accented peripheral vowels transfer these in weakened form to the first syllable, but accented /-a-/ is lost:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------------|
| /ɔbal-/ | 'boil' | pr.-fut. /ɔble-/ |
| /napir-/ | 'wring out' | /nipre-/ |
| /nakheɾ-/ | 'separate' | /nikhre-/ |
| /maror-/ | 'twist' | /murre-/ |

4.6.4 /a/-roots

a) disyllabic roots in accented /-a/

These normally change /-a/ to /-e/. All causative stems are subject to this change:

| | | |
|----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| /farma-/ | 'order' | pr.-fut. /farme-/ |
| /diva-/ | 'cause to give' | /dive-/ |

But /kama-/ 'earn' makes no change for pr.-fut., like intr. roots in /-a/.

b) monosyllabic roots in /-a/

Five common tr. roots change to C /-æ/, S /-e/:

| | | | |
|--------|-------------|-----------------|---------|
| /ca-/ | 'raise' | pr.-fut. /C cæ- | S ce-/ |
| /dha-/ | 'cast down' | /C dhæ- | S dhe-/ |
| /la-/ | 'apply' | /C læ- | S le-/ |
| /pa-/ | 'put' | /C pæ- | S pe-/ |
| /ta-/ | 'heat' | /C tæ- | S te-/ |

One anomalous intr. root follows the same pattern:

| | | | |
|--------|------|--------|--------|
| /vañ-/ | 'go' | /C væ- | S ve-/ |
|--------|------|--------|--------|

Other monosyllabic roots in /-a/ and /-ā/ are unchanged in standard CS, but are altered for the pr.-fut. in several sub-standard local dialects, typically to /-am-/ in the south-east, to /-ā-/ in the south-west, and to /-ao-/ in many peripheral areas, thus:

| | | CS | local |
|--------|----------|---------------|---------------------------|
| /a-/ | 'come' | pr.-fut. /a-/ | / (Δm- ~ ā- ~ Δo-)/ |
| /bhā-/ | 'please' | /bhā-/ | / (bhām- ~ bhā- ~ bhΔo-)/ |
| /kha-/ | 'eat' | /kha-/ | / (khām- ~ khā- ~ khΔo-)/ |

The same variation is extended to two other common intr. vowel-roots, of which the first has an irregularly formed pr.-fut. in CS also:

| | | | |
|---------|--------|------------------|-------------------|
| /bhāv-/ | 'turn' | pr.-fut. /bhāo-/ | / (bhām- ~ bhā-)/ |
| /po-/ | 'lie' | /po-/ | / (pām- ~ pΔo-)/ |

4.6.5 Confusions

As a consequence of these rules, the pr.-fut. of tr. verbs with modified root-vowel is identical with that of the corresponding causative (4.6.3; 4.6.4.a) Thus the semantic difference between such pairs as /mel-/ 'join' and /mila-/ 'introduce' (4.4.1) is not formally marked in the pr.-fut., /mile-/. The sense is, however, normally obvious from the context.

A further consequence of the rules is the obliteration of the distinction between a consonant-root and its causative in pr.-fut., e.g., /kar-/ 'do' and /kara-/ 'cause to be done' both have pr.-fut. /kare-/. Confusions of this kind are often avoided where necessary by the use of the double causative, thus pr.-fut. /kare-/ 'do' vs. /karve-/ or /karva-/ 'cause to be done'. Where the causative represents a substantial change of meaning, and is almost as commonly used as the simple verb, such confusions are all the more likely to arise. Here the simple verb, even though a tr. consonant-root, regularly makes no change for the pr.-fut.:

| | pr.-fut. | | | pr.-fut. |
|----------------|----------|-----|------------------|----------|
| /paṛh-/ 'read' | /paṛh-/ | vs. | /paṛha-/ 'teach' | /paṛhe-/ |
| /dekh-/ 'see' | /dekh-/ | | /dikhā-/ 'show' | /dikhe-/ |
| /sun-/ 'hear' | /sun-/ | | /suṇa-/ 'tell' | /suṇe-/ |

Possible confusions between different roots can be eliminated in the same way:

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|-----|---------------|---------|
| /jān-/ 'know' | /jān-/ | vs. | /jāṇ-/ 'hear' | /jāṇe-/ |
|---------------|--------|-----|---------------|---------|

Thus formal rules are often adapted to the requirements of semantic differentiation.

Other instances of tr. consonant-roots not adding /-e/ for the pr.-fut., or often being used without the suffix, are less easy to explain in this fashion. Common examples are:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| /ghm-/ 'take' | pr.-fut. /ghm-/ |
| /likh-/ 'write' | /likh- ~ likhe-/ |
| /puch-/ 'ask' | /puch-/ |
| /rakh-/ 'put' | /rakh- ~ rakhe-/ |
| /suṇān-/ 'recognize' | /suṇān- ~ suṇne-/ |
| /vun-/ 'weave' | /vun-/ |

Final clusters other than those of homorganic nasal + voiced plosive are broken by epenthetic /-Ḍ-/ in the pr.-fut.:

| | |
|-------------------|------------|
| /mutr-/ 'urinate' | /mutar-Ḍ-/ |
|-------------------|------------|

This verb is in fact tr. (8.3.3). Verbs of imperfectly defined transitivity naturally vary in the pr.-fut.:

/sAMajh-/ 'understand' /sAMajh- ~ sAMjhe-/

vs. /sAMjha-/ 'make understand' /sAMjhe-/

In one verb there is a distinction of dialect in the pr.-fut.:

/akh-/ 'say' /C akh- ~ S akhe-/

And one intr. consonant-root regularly has /-e/:

/bol-/ 'speak' /bole-/

4.7 MORPHOPHONEMIC ADJUSTMENTS

The addition of inflexional morphemes to verbal roots and stems entails certain morphophonemic adjustments:

a) loss of post-tonic /-ʌ-/

Post-tonic /-ʌ-/ is regularly lost before all vocalic morphemes:

/nikʌl-/ > /niklā/

/pʌkʌr-/ /pʌkrin/

b) obligatory insertion of /-v-/

/-v-/ must be inserted after all vowel-roots before morphemes beginning in a centralized vowel:

| | | | |
|------|---|---------|---------|
| | | + /-ʌn/ | + /-in/ |
| /a-/ | > | /avʌn/ | /avin/ |

| | | | |
|-------|---|---------|---------|
| /pi-/ | > | /pivʌn/ | /pivin/ |
|-------|---|---------|---------|

| | | | |
|-------|---|---------|---------|
| /de-/ | > | /devʌn/ | /devin/ |
|-------|---|---------|---------|

| | | | |
|--------|---|----------|----------|
| /dho-/ | > | /dhovʌn/ | /dhovin/ |
|--------|---|----------|----------|

Similarly, /-v-/ must be inserted before most morphemes beginning with a peripheral vowel, always when this is identical with the root-vowel:

| | | | | | |
|--------|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | + /-ā/ | + /-ī/ | + /-e/ | + /-o/ |
| /a-/ | > | /avā/ | /avī/ | /ave/ | |
| /pi-/ | > | /pivā/ | /pivī/ | /pive/ | |
| /de-/ | > | /devā/ | /devī/ | /deve/ | |
| /dho-/ | > | /dhovā/ | /dhovī/ | /dhove/ | /dhovo/ |

c) optional insertion of /-v-/

/-v-/ is optionally inserted after vowel-roots before the rounded peripheral vowels, e.g.

/pi-/ > /pivū ~ piū/

/de-/ > /devo ~ deo/

/h/-roots may optionally have /-v-/ before all vocalic morphemes:

/bāh-/ > /bāhvā ~ bāhā/

/rah-/ > /rahve ~ rahe/

Transfers of /h/ follow the rules laid down in 1. 12. 4-6.

4.8 INFINITIVE AND GERUNDIVE

4.8.1 Infinitive

The infinitive (inf.) is the standard citation form of the verb, formed by the addition of /-an/ to the root or primary stem, with appropriate morphophonemic adjustment:

| | | | |
|----------|-------------|---------------------|----------------|
| /de-/ | 'give' | /devan/ | 'to give' |
| /rah-/ | 'remain' | /rahan ~ rahvan/ | 'to remain' |
| /marij-/ | 'be killed' | /marijan/ | 'to be killed' |
| /rakh-/ | 'put' | /rakhan/ | 'to put' |

Roots in /n r ṛh/ have dissimilation of /-an/ to /-an/:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|----------|------------|
| /sun-/ | 'hear' | /sunan/ | 'to hear' |
| /choṛ-/ | 'leave' | /choṛan/ | 'to leave' |
| /paṛh-/ | 'read' | /paṛhan/ | 'to read' |

The inf. is treated as a mas. noun of declension II, and is therefore unchanged in obl. In some varieties of N it appears to be assigned to declension III with dir. /-un/, obl. /-an/. An abl. inf. in /-nū ~ -nū/ is used in all varieties of the language, though less frequently than an inf. + ppn.:

| | | | |
|----------|------------|----------|----------------|
| /rakhan/ | 'to put' | /rakhnū/ | 'from putting' |
| /devan/ | 'to give' | /devnū/ | 'from giving' |
| /choṛan/ | 'to leave' | /choṛnū/ | 'from leaving' |

The abl. inf. of roots in /-r/ ends in /-nū/, not /-nū/, thus:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| /karan/ | 'to do' | vs. /karnū/ | 'from doing' |
|---------|---------|-------------|--------------|

The inf. also gives rise to the verbal agent by the addition of the adjectival ppn. /vala ~ ala/:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------------------------|--------|
| /karan/ | 'to do' | /karan vala ~ karan ala/ | 'doer' |
|---------|---------|-----------------------------|--------|

An older suffix /[-har ~ -hara]/ is now obsolete.

4.8.2 Gerundive

The gerundive (ger.) is a verbal adjective in *-ṇa*, formed exactly as the abl. inf., and declined as a black adjective:

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| /rakhaṇ/ | 'to put' | /rakḥṇa/ | 'worthy to be put' |
| /devaṇ/ | 'to give' | /devṇa/ | 'worthy to be given' |
| /rahaṇ ~ rahan/ | 'to remain' | /rahṇa ~ rahvṇa/ | 'worthy to remain' |
| /choṛaṇ/ | 'to leave' | /choṛṇa/ | 'worthy to be left' |
| /karaṇ/ | 'to do' | vs. /karṇa/ | 'worthy to be done' |

The passive significance of the ger. makes its formation from passive stems rare.

In the modern educated colloquial the ger. and inf. are not always carefully distinguished, probably due to the influence of U P, which make no thorough distinction between the two:

| | <u>U</u> | <u>P</u> | <u>CS</u> |
|-----------|----------|------------------|------------------|
| ger. | -na | -ṇa | -ṇa |
| inf. | -na | -ṇa | > (-ṇa) ~ -aṇ |
| obl. inf. | -ne | > (-ṇe) ~ -əṇ | > (-ṇe) ~ -aṇ |

But the bracketed forms have yet to be fully accepted as standard.

4.9 CATENATIVE AND CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES

4.9.1 Catenative participle

The catenative participle (ptc.) is normally identical in form with the root or primary stem:

| | | |
|----------|---------|----------------------|
| /kar-/ | /kar/ | 'having done' |
| /suṇa-/ | /suṇa/ | 'having told' |
| /marij-/ | /marij/ | 'having been killed' |

But in the older language the catenative ptc. regularly ended in *[-i]*, and this has affected the modern formation of the catenative ptc. in three classes of verb:

a) disyllabic roots with post-tonic /-a-/

Roots with final /r r l/ regularly change post-tonic /-a-/ to /-i-/, other roots optionally make this change for the catenative ptc.:

| | | |
|----------|---------|-------------------|
| /nikal-/ | /nikil/ | 'having gone out' |
|----------|---------|-------------------|

a) vowel-stems

The vowel is nasalized before /-da/:

| | | |
|---------|----------|----------------|
| /a-/ | /āda/ | 'coming' |
| /kare-/ | /karēda/ | 'doing' |
| /mari-/ | /marīda/ | 'being killed' |

The use of a /-v-/ infix after monosyllabic stems is now obsolete, thus /[pīvda] > pīda/ 'drinking'.

b) /h/-stems

The vowel is nasalized before /-da/, and metathesis to /-dha/ is possible and frequent (1.12.4):

| | | |
|--------|-----------------|-------------|
| /raḥ-/ | /rāhda ~ rādha/ | 'remaining' |
| /doh-/ | /dōhda ~ dōdha/ | 'milking' |

c) consonant-stems

These normally make no change before /-da/:

| | | |
|--------|---------|---------|
| /ṭur-/ | /ṭurda/ | 'going' |
|--------|---------|---------|

But two stems in /-kh/ may have irregular pr. ptc.:

| | | |
|---------|--------------------------|----------|
| /dekh-/ | /dekhda ~ dehda ~ dedha/ | 'seeing' |
|---------|--------------------------|----------|

| | | |
|--------|-------------------------|----------|
| /akh-/ | C /akhda ~ aḥda ~ adha/ | 'saying' |
|--------|-------------------------|----------|

/akh-/ has S pr. -fut. /akhe-/ > pr. ptc. /akhēda/ 'saying' (4.6.5).

4.10.1 Adverbial present participle

The adverbial pr. ptc. is formed by the change of /-da/ to /-dyē ~ C -dyā/. Since the first element is very weak in the diphthong /-dyē/ (1.3.1), the form can be regarded as being in free variation with /-dē/. A further variant in educated speech and writing is /-de/, probably < U /-te/. Thus pr. ptc. /karēda/ 'doing' yields the variant forms of the adverbial ptc. /karedyē ~ karedē ~ karede ~ C karedyā/.

4.11 PAST PARTICIPLE

The past participle is an adjective in /-ya/ formed from the root:

| | | |
|--------|---------|---------|
| /ṭur-/ | /ṭurya/ | 'went' |
| /gā-/ | /gāvyā/ | 'sang' |
| /ji-/ | /jivya/ | 'lived' |

The declension follows that of a black adjective, /-y-/ being dropped in the fem.:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-----|-------------|-------------|
| sg. | ṭurya | ṭuri |
| pl. | ṭurye | ṭuriā |

Roots in /-a/, including all causative stems but excluding roots in /-ā/, and roots in /-o/ do not infix /v-/ in the past ptc.:

| | | |
|--------|---------|--------|
| /a-/ | /aya/ | 'came' |
| /ṣṇa-/ | /ṣṇaya/ | 'told' |
| /ho-/ | /hoya/ | 'been' |

In the declension of these participles /-y-/ is dropped in the m. pl.:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| sg. | aya | ai | hoya | [hoi] > hui |
| pl. | ae | aiā | hoe | hoiā |

Besides these there are some ninety verbs, including some of the commonest, which have irregularities in the formation of the past ptc.: these require separate listing (4.12-13).

No past ptc. is formed from passive stems, since the past ptc. of the simple tr. root necessarily bears a passive significance.

4.11.1 Adverbial past participle

This is formed analogously with the more frequent adverbial present ptc. (4.10.1), by the change of /-ya/ to /-yē -ē -e C-yā/, thus /ṭuryē ~ ṭurē ~ ṭure ~ C ṭuryā/.

4.11.2 Perfective participle

This is formed as in U P by the addition of /hoya/ 'been' to the past ptc., thus /ṭurya hoyā/: both elements decline. The perfective participle, which describes a present state accomplished in past time, is most commonly used predicatively (7.11.d) or adverbially (7.12.f). A present perfective ptc. /ṭurda hoyā/ is also possible, but much less common, except in its adverbial use (7.12.e).

4.11.3 Connective participle

The connective ptc. is formally equivalent to the f. sg. of the past ptc. It is normally formed from tr. verbs only, thus /ṣṇai/ 'having told'. The usage of the connective ptc., which is not found in U or some varieties of P, is explained below (7.4.2; 7.6).

There is no equivalent of the U P 'gerund', formally identical with a regularly formed m. sg. past ptc., as U /jaya/ < /jana/ 'to go'.

4.12 IRREGULAR PAST PARTICIPLES IN /-ya -ea/

Two irregularly formed past participles in /-ya/ follow the paradigms given in 4.11:

| | | | |
|--------|-----------|----------|--------|
| /jam-/ | 'be born' | /jaya/ R | 'born' |
| /jan-/ | 'bear' | /jaya/ R | 'born' |
| /mar-/ | 'die' | /moya/ | 'died' |

Here and throughout 4.13, R denotes the alternative of a regularly formed past ptc., i.e. /jaya ~ jamya/ and /jaya ~ janya/: since the past ptc. is neuter or passive in meaning, the same irregular past ptc. may correspond to both members of intr. and tr. root pairs.

Three very common verbs have irregularly formed past ptc. in /-ea/:

| | | | |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| /po-/ | 'lie' | /pea/ | 'lain' |
| /thi-/ | 'become' | /thea/ | 'became' |
| /vañ-/ | 'go' | /gea/ | 'went' |

These follow the paradigm given for black adjectives in /-ea/ (2.5.1), but are liable to reductions of the diphthong in unstressed position, especially in S:

| | mas. | fem. |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------|
| sg. | pea > pya | pai > S pi |
| pl. | pæ > S pe | peā ~ piā > pyā ~ piā |

One other common verb commonly has an irregular past ptc. declined as a black adjective in /-eha/ (2.5.1):

| | | | |
|--------|----------|----------|------------|
| /rah-/ | 'remain' | /reha/ R | 'remained' |
|--------|----------|----------|------------|

4.13 IRREGULAR PAST PARTICIPLES IN /-a/

All other irregular past participles end in /-a/, not /-ya/, and are declined exactly as black adjectives.

4.13.1 Roots adding /-a/

This is the simplest class and includes:

| | | | |
|---------|---------------|---------|-----------|
| /badh-/ | 'tie' | /badha/ | 'tied' |
| /bud-/ | 'drown' | /buda/ | 'drowned' |
| /bhan-/ | 'break' (tr.) | /bhana/ | 'broke' |
| /bhin-/ | 'wet' | /bhina/ | 'wet' |

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| /bhun-/ | 'parch' | /bhuna/ | 'parched' |
| /chut-/ | 'get free' | /chuta/ | 'got free' |
| /khar-/ | 'stand' | /khara/ | 'stood' |
| /lag-/ | 'begin' | /laga/ R | 'began' |
| /puch-/ | 'ask' | /pucha/ R | 'asked' |
| /ridh-/ | 'cook' | /ridha/ | 'cooked' |
| /rudh-/ | 'be busy' | /rudha/ | 'busied' |
| /suk-/ | 'be dry' | /suka/ | 'dried' |
| /trut-/ | 'break' (intr.) | /truta/ | 'broke' |

In other cases a past ptc. in /-a/ may have a specialized meaning as an adjective, e.g., /khula/ 'loose, stray' vs. /khol-/ > /kholya/ 'opened'

4.13.2 Other classes

In all other past participles in /-a/ there is a preceding retroflex or dental consonant, either added to a root-vowel or representing the change of a final consonant. Eight classes are to be distinguished:

| <u>retroflex:</u> | <u>dental:</u> | -ta (4.13.6) |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| -ṭha (4.13.3) | | -tha (4.13.7) |
| | | -da (4.13.8) |
| | | -dha (4.13.9) |
| -ṇa (4.13.4) | | -na (4.13.10) |
| -ṛha (4.13.5) | | |

Apart from the many regular alternatives in use, the assignment of verbs to these classes is usually definite. Only a few verbs may be assigned to more than one class, e.g., /nikal-/ > /nikhta ~ nikattha/ 'went out', but homonymns are distinguished in the past ptc. as /po-/ > /pea/ 'lain' vs. /po-/ > /pota/ 'threaded' and as /lah-/ > /latha/ 'descended' vs. /lah-/ > /ladha/ 'obtained'.

Membership of these classes is closed, and the following lists are to be regarded as constituting a reasonably complete inventory, excluding only quite obsolete forms or those used in older poetry for the sake of the rhyme scheme.

4.13.3 Past participles in /-ṭha/

The root generally ends in /-h/ or /-s/ (intr.):

| | | | |
|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| /chah-/ | 'slink' | /chaṭha/ | 'slunk' |
| /dhaḥ-/ | 'fall' | /dhaṭha/ | 'fell' |

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| /[dhoh-] dho-/ | 'convey' | /dhoṭha/ R | 'conveyed' |
| /dis-/ | 'appear' | /[diṭha]/ R | 'appeared' |
| /dekh-/ | 'see' | /diṭha/ | 'seen' |
| /druh-/ | 'drag' | /druṭha/ R | 'dragged' |
| /kṣ-/ | 'be slaughtered' | /kṣṭha/ | 'slaughtered' |
| /koh-/ | 'slaughter' | /kṣṭha/ | 'slaughtered' |
| /[mus-]/ | 'be ruined' | /[muṭha]/ | 'ruined' |
| /nas-/ | 'flee' | /naṭha/ | 'fled' |
| /phis-/ | 'be ground' | /piṭha/ | 'ground' |
| /pih-/ | 'grind' | /piṭha/ | 'ground' |
| /rus-/ | 'be cross' | /ruṭha/ | 'cross' |
| /trah-/ | 'shrink away' | /traṭha/ | 'shrank away' |

Two roots have change of vowel before /-ṭha/:

| | | | |
|--------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| /bah-/ | 'sit' | /C bæṭha | |
| | | ~ S betha/ | 'sat' |
| /vas-/ | 'dwell, rain' | /vaṭha/ | 'dwelt, rained' |

4.13.4 Past participles in /-na/

These are commonly formed from intr. roots in /-a -ā/, other than /a-/ 'come':

| | | | |
|---------|----------------|------------|-------------|
| /la-/ | 'speak' | /laṇa/ R | 'spoke' |
| /bhā-/ | 'please' | /bhaṇa/ R | 'pleased' |
| /gā-/ | 'sing' | /gaṇa/ R | 'sang' |
| /kuma-/ | 'wither' | /kumaṇa/ R | 'withered' |
| /ma-/ | 'be contained' | /maṇa/ R | 'contained' |
| /vika-/ | 'be sold' | /vikaṇa/ R | 'sold' |

While all these participles have regular alternatives, this pattern is still active in S and may be extended to verbs other than those listed, occasionally even to causatives: it is the only pattern productive of new forms. In older poetry the pattern is very commonly extended to other roots in /-a/ to suit the rhyme.

4.13.5 Past participles in /-rha/

Only one root belongs to this class, having a change of vowel before /-rha/:

| | | | |
|--------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|
| /vah-/ | 'flow, be ploughed' | /vaṛha/ | 'flowed, ploughed' |
|--------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|

4.13.6 Past participles in /-ta/

This is the largest class and includes many of the commonest roots.

a) vowel-roots + /ta/

| | | | |
|--------|----------|------------|------------|
| /ca-/ | 'raise' | /cata/ [R] | 'raised' |
| /dhā-/ | 'bathe' | /dhāta/ R | 'bathed' |
| /dho-/ | 'wash' | /dhota/ | 'washed' |
| /jo-/ | 'yoke' | /jota/ | 'yoked' |
| /la-/ | 'apply' | /[lata]/ R | 'applied' |
| /pa-/ | 'put' | /pata/ [R] | 'put' |
| /pi-/ | 'drink' | /pita/ | 'drank' |
| /po-/ | 'thread' | /pota/ | 'threaded' |
| /si-/ | 'sew' | /sita/ | 'sewn' |

And with change of vowel before /-ta/:

| | | | |
|---------|--------|---------------|----------|
| /de-/ | 'give' | /dita/ | 'gave' |
| /jo-/ | 'yoke' | /juta ~ jota/ | 'yoked' |
| /kama-/ | 'earn' | /kamatta/ | 'earned' |
| /ne-/ | 'take' | /nita/ | 'took' |

b) consonant-roots > /-ta/

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| /jan-/ | 'know' | /jata/ R | 'knew' |
| /kar-/ | 'do' | /kita ~ (S kita)/ | 'did' |
| /khus-/ | 'be seized' | /khuta/ | 'seized' |
| /khoh-/ | 'seize' | /khota/ | 'seized' |
| /limb-/ | 'plaster' | /lita/ R | 'plastered' |
| /mac-/ | 'flare up' | /[mata]/ R | 'flared up' |
| /[mũñjh-]/ | 'send' | /muta/ | 'sent' |
| /nikal-/ | 'go out' | /nikhta ~ nikta/ | 'went out' |
| /paḍhc-/ | 'arrive' | /paḍhta/ R | 'arrived' |
| /samh- ~ sumh-/ | 'sleep' | /suta/ | 'slept' |
| /suṇaṇ-/ | 'recognize' | /suṇata/ R | 'recognized' |

/tata/ 'hot' is an adjective, vs. /tap-/ > /tapyā/ 'heated'.

4. 13. 7 Past participles in /-tha/

The root generally ends in /-h/ or /-s/ (intr.) (cf. 4. 13. 3):

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| /ghus-/ | 'err' | /ghu <u>th</u> a/ | 'erred' |
| /khus-/ | 'drop' | /khu <u>th</u> a/ R | 'dropped' |
| /lah-/ | 'descend' | /la <u>th</u> a/ | 'descended' |
| /nikal-/ | 'go out' | /nika <u>th</u> a/ | 'went out' |
| /phas- ~ phah-/ | 'entangle' | /pha <u>th</u> a/ | 'entangled' |
| /phis-/ | 'be ground' | /pi <u>th</u> a/ | 'ground' |
| /pih-/ | 'grind' | /pi <u>th</u> a/ | 'ground' |

4. 13. 8 Past participles in /-da/

This is a small class, since /-da/ is the characteristic ending of the present ptc. Two of the three verbs belonging to this class have been transferred from the next class by the dissimilation of aspirates (1. 12. 6):

| | | | |
|---------|---------|--|-----------|
| /an-/ | 'bring' | /ā <u>da</u> / | 'brought' |
| /ghin-/ | 'take' | /[ghid <u>da</u>] > ghid <u>da</u> / | 'took' |
| /kha-/ | 'eat' | /[khad <u>da</u>] > khad <u>da</u> / | 'ate' |

4. 13. 9 Past participles in /-dha/

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|------------|
| /ba <u>nh</u> -/ | 'tie' | /ba <u>dha</u> / | 'tied' |
| /du <u>bh</u> -/ | 'be milked' | /du <u>dha</u> / | 'milked' |
| /do <u>h</u> -/ | 'milk' | /du <u>dha</u> / | 'milked' |
| /gu <u>nh</u> -/ | 'plait' | /gu <u>dha</u> / R | 'plaited' |
| /la <u>bh</u> - ~ la <u>h</u> -/ | 'be obtained' | /la <u>dha</u> / | 'obtained' |
| /[la <u>h</u> -] > la <u>ha</u> -/ | 'obtain' | /la <u>dha</u> / R | 'obtained' |
| /ra <u>bh</u> - ~ ra <u>h</u> -/ | 'be sown' | /ra <u>dha</u> / | 'sown' |
| /[ra <u>h</u> -] > ra <u>ha</u> -/ | 'sow' | /ra <u>dha</u> / R | 'sown' |
| /ri <u>nh</u> -/ | 'cook' | /ri <u>dha</u> / | 'cooked' |
| /ru <u>jh</u> -/ | 'be busy' | /ru <u>dha</u> / | 'busied' |

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| /yabh-/ | 'copulate' | /yadha/ | 'copulated' |
| /yah-/ | 'copulate with' | /yadhah-/ | 'copulated' |

The participles /badha ridha rudha/ also correspond to the roots /badh- ridh- rudh-/ (4.13.1).

4.13.10 Past participles in /-na/

The root generally ends in /-j/:

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|
| /bha _j -/ | 'run, break' (intr.) | /bhana/ R | 'ran, broke' |
| /bhi _j -/ | 'be wet' | /bhina/ R | 'wet' |
| /bhu _j -/ | 'be parched' | /bhuna/ R | 'parched' |
| /pu _j -/ | 'arrive' | /puna/ R | 'arrived' |
| /si _j -/ | 'be moistened' | /sina/ R | 'moistened' |

There is also one vowel-root:

| | | | |
|-------|--------|----------|--------|
| /ro-/ | 'weep' | /runa/ R | 'wept' |
|-------|--------|----------|--------|

The participles /bhana bhina bhuna/ also correspond to the tr. roots /bhan- bhin- bhun-/ (4.13.1).

4.14 STEM TENSES

Five tenses are formed without the use of the participles or the auxiliary verb. The present subjunctive, its derivative conditional I, the imperative and the aorist imperative are all formed by the addition of personal endings with appropriate morphophonemic adjustments (4.7) to the root or primary stem. The future is formed by the addition of personal endings to the pr.-fut. stem.

4.14.1 Present subjunctive

This tense was a general present in the older language, as still in poetry and proverbs, being used as an indicative present and future as well as in the subjunctive sense to which it is now normally confined, having been replaced as an indicative by the periphrastic present tense (4.16.2).

The six personal endings and typical morphophonemic adjustments are illustrated in the paradigm:

| root: | /tur-/ 'go' | /nikal-/ 'go out' | /a-/ 'come' | /rah-/ 'remain' |
|------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| sg. 1 /-ā/ | ṭurā | niklā | avā | rahā ~ rahvā |
| 2 /C-ē | ṭurē | niklē | avē | rahē ~ rahvē |
| ~ S-ī/ | ~ ṭurī | ~ niklī | ~ avī | ~ rahī ~ rahvī |
| 3 /-e/ | ṭure | nikle | ave | rahe ~ rahve |
| pl. 1 /-ū/ | ṭurū | niklū | aū | rahū ~ rahvū |
| 2 /-o/ | ṭuro | niklo | ao | raho ~ rahvo |
| 3 /-in/ | ṭurin | niklin | avin | ræhin ~ rahvin |

The pr. subjunctive of passive stems usually has a gerundive sense: the older 'impersonal verbs' /*[kariē ~ kice]*/ 'it is to be done' are now replaced by the regular 3sg. /*karije*/ < /*karij-*/.

4. 14. 2 Conditional I

This is formed by the addition of the invariable particle /*ha*/ to the pr. subjunctive, thus /*ṭurā ha ... ṭurin ha*/. It is equivalent in meaning and usage to conditional II (4. 16. 1).

4. 14. 3 Imperative

The imperative is not normally formed from passive stems, and has only 2sg. and 2pl. 2sg. is normally identical with the catenative ptc. (4. 9. 1), and 2pl. with 2pl. of pr. subjunctive:

| | | | | |
|------------|------|-------|----|--------------|
| sg. 2 | ṭur | nikil | a | ræh |
| pl. 2 /-o/ | ṭuro | niklo | ao | raho ~ rahvo |

2sg. of /*a-*/ is only /*a*/, vs. catenative ptc. /*a ~ C an ~ S an*/; similarly, /*po-*/ 'lie' has 2sg. imperative /*po*/, vs. catenative ptc. /*pæ*/. /*ṭh-*/ 'rise' has 2sg. imperative /*ṭhi*/ (=catenative ptc.), and 2pl. /*ṭhiho ~ (ṭhijo)*/.

4. 14. 4 Aorist imperative

The aorist imperative is more polite in sense than the simple imperative: it too is not normally formed from passive stems, and has only 2sg. and 2pl. 2sg. is identical with 2sg. of pr. subjunctive: 2pl. is formed by the addition of accented /-*'ahe*/, with weakening of the root, or of /-*'ae*/ after /*h-*/-roots (1. 12. 6):

| | | | | |
|------------------------|--------|---------|-------|----------------|
| sg. 2 /C-ē | ṭurē | niklē | avē | rahē ~ rahvē |
| ~ S-ī/ | ~ ṭurī | ~ niklī | ~ avī | ~ rahī ~ rahvī |
| pl. 2 /- <i>'ahe</i> / | ṭurahe | niklahe | avahe | rahae |

An accented peripheral vowel in the second syllable is lost in 2pl., thus /maroɾ-/ > /murreahe/ 'twist!'. This change eliminates the distinction between root and causative in 2pl., thus /ʊth-/ > /ʊthahe/ 'rise!', also /ʊtha-/ > /ʊthahe/ 'raise!'.

4.14.5 Future

The future, freely formed from all verbs, is formed by the addition of personal endings to the pr.-fut. stem without morphophonemic change:

| | | | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------|-------|---------|
| sg. 1 /-sā/ | ʈursā | nikalsā | asā | rahsā |
| 2 /C-sē | ʈursē | nikalsē | asē | rahsē |
| ~ S-sī/ | ~ ʈursī | ~ nikalsī | ~ asī | ~ rahsī |
| 3 /C-si | ʈursi | nikalsi | asi | rahsi |
| ~ S-se/ | ~ ʈurse | ~ nikalse | ~ ase | ~ rahse |
| pl. 1 /-sū/ | ʈursū | nikalsū | asū | rahsū |
| 2 /-so/ | ʈurso | nikalso | aso | rahso |
| 3 /-sin/ | ʈursin | nikalsin | asin | rahsm |

The symmetry with the endings of the pr. subjunctive is disturbed only in 3sg. /C -si/ vs. pr. subjunctive /-e/.

The sigmatic future is distinctive of Siraiki and the Northern Lahnda dialects, as contrasted with P Si U. Distinctions between root, causative and passive in the future are illustrated by:

| | | |
|----------|----------|--------------------|
| /sun-/ | /sunsi/ | 'he will hear' |
| /suna-/ | /sunesi/ | 'he will tell' |
| /sunij-/ | /sunisi/ | 'he will be heard' |

4.14.6 Negatives

The negative of all five stem tenses is formed by the use of /na/ 'not', sometimes /koma ~ kəna/, before the positive forms, thus /na asi/ 'he will not come'.

4.15 AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verb proper is restricted to two tenses, present and past, both fully conjugated for person. Distinction of gender is possible only in 3sg. past.

4. 15. 1 Present auxiliary

The present auxiliary (pr. aux.) has both full and short forms:

| | <u>full forms</u> | <u>short forms</u> |
|-------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| sg. 1 | hā | ā |
| 2 | C hē ~ S hāī | C ē ~ S ī ~ āī |
| 3 | he | e |
| pl. 1 | C hise ~ S hese ~ C hē ~ S hū | se ~ S ese ~ S ū |
| 2 | ho ~ C hive ~ S heve | o ~ ve ~ S eve |
| 3 | hin | in |

There are many variant forms, due partly to differences between C and S: in older poetry yet more forms are to be encountered (9. 5. 6). Full forms are used in stressed position, i.e., as existential verbs or for emphasis. In most other contexts, including formal writing as well as speech, the short forms are used: C 1pl. /hē/, lacking a corresponding short form with the typical loss of /h-/, is used in all contexts.

4. 15. 2 Elision of short forms

Short forms of the pr. aux. very commonly coalesce with preceding final vowels, especially when these are unaccented and post-tonic. Native orthography is very inconsistent in such cases in writing one word or two. Elisions are written in transcription in the following cases only:

a) after /-a/

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| /-a + -ā > CS -ā/ | ṭurda ā > CS ṭurdā |
| /-a + -āī > S -āī/ | caha āī > S cahaī |
| /-a + -ī > S -ī/ | ṭurda ī > S turdī |
| /-a + -e > C -æ ~ S -e/ | ṭurda e > C turdæ ~ S ṭurde |
| | ṭurdiā ese > S ṭurdiēse |
| /-aya + -e > C -ae ~ S -ae | pakaya e > C pakae ~ S pakae |
| /-ya + -e > CS -ye/ | ṭurya e > CS ṭurye |
| /-a + -in > C -æn ~ S -in/ | ṭurdiā in > C ṭurdiæn ~ S ṭurdim |

b) after /-i/

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| /-i + -ā > S -iā/ | CS <i>ṭurdi ā</i> ~ S <i>ṭurdiā</i> |
| /-i + -ī > S -ī/ | <i>ṭurdi ī</i> > S <i>ṭurdi</i> |
| /-i + -e > S -ie/ | CS <i>ṭurdi e</i> ~ S <i>ṭurdie</i> |
| /-i + -ū > S -iū/ | <i>admi ū</i> > S <i>admiū</i> |
| /-i + -in > S -iin/ | CS <i>admi in</i> ~ S <i>admiin</i> |

c) after /-e/

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| /-e + -ū > S -ū/ | <i>ṭurde ū</i> > S <i>ṭurdū</i> |
| /-e + -o > C -yo ~ | <i>ṭurde o</i> > C <i>ṭurdyo</i> ~ |
| S -o/ | S <i>ṭurdo</i> |
| /-ye + -o > CS -yo/ | <i>ṭurye o</i> > CS <i>ṭuryo</i> |
| /-e + -in > CS -in/ | <i>cahe in</i> > CS <i>cahin</i> |

d) after /-æ/

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| /-æ + -in > C -æn/ | <i>gæ in</i> > C <i>gæn</i> |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|

These elisions play an important part in the formation of the periphrastic tenses (4.16.2, 5), and also apply after nouns and adjectives. In all other contexts short forms of the auxiliary are written as separate words.

4.15.3 Past auxiliary

There is no distinction between full and short forms in the past aux.:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| sg. 1 | <i>ham</i> ~ [<i>haim</i>] > <i>hæm</i> |
| 2 | <i>havē</i> |
| 3 mas. <i>ha</i> | |
| fem. [<i>hai</i>] > <i>hai</i> | |
| pl. 1 | <i>hase</i> |
| 2 | <i>have</i> |
| 3 | <i>han</i> ~ [<i>ham</i>] > <i>hæn</i> |

/hæm hæn/ are more emphatic than the usual /ham han/. The distinction of gender in 3sg. is often lost, particularly in S, /hai/ being generalized for mas. as well as fem. Other forms of the past aux. are encountered in older poetry (9.5.6).

4.15.4 Negative auxiliaries

The negative of the pr. aux. may be formed by the negative adverb /nhĩ ~ nĩ/ 'not', or frequently /koinhĩ ~ kənhĩ/, used either alone for all persons and numbers, but especially for 3sg. and 3pl., or before the positive forms. There exists also a negative pr. aux. with distinctive personal forms (5.6).

The negative of the past aux. is formed by prefixing /nA/ or the more emphatic /koinA ~ kənA/ to the positive forms, making a single word. The prefixing of /nA/ involves some of the displacements which are so common in the vicinity of /h/. Idiolects vary in their realization, but the following represents an acceptable standard:

| | |
|--------|---------------|
| sg. 1 | nA'hAm |
| 2 | nhavě ~ navhě |
| 3 mas. | nA'ha |
| fem. | nA'hAi ~ nAhi |
| pl. 1 | nhase |
| 2 | nhave ~ navhe |
| 3 | nA'hæn |

Emphatic forms with expanded prefix do not involve such elisions, thus 2sg./koinAhavě/.

4.15.5 Other tenses

Other tenses of the auxiliary verb are formed from the root /ho-/ 'be', thus 3sg. pr. subjunctive /hove/, future /hosi/. Many functions of U P /ho-/ are exercised in Siraiki by /thi-/ 'become' (7.2), but the latter is not used as an auxiliary.

4.16 PARTICIPIAL TENSES

Six common tenses are formed from the present and past participles, used alone or with the auxiliaries:

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| pr. ptc. alone: | conditional II (4. 16. 1) |
| pr. ptc. + pr. aux.: | present (4. 16. 2) |
| pr. ptc. + past aux.: | imperfect (4. 16. 3) |
| past ptc. alone: | past (4. 16. 4) |
| past ptc. + pr. aux.: | perfect (4. 16. 5) |
| past ptc. + past aux.: | pluperfect (4. 16. 6) |

In all participial tenses the ptc. is inflected for gender and number, and the auxiliary for person, but for gender only in 3sg. past.

Other periphrastic tenses may be formed with the participles and appropriate parts of /ho-/, e.g. past ptc. + /hosi/ as 'future perfect', but these will not be itemized below since they are much less commonly used than the six tenses listed and are formed quite straightforwardly.

4.16.1 Conditional II

Formed with the pr. ptc. alone, as in U P, this tense is equivalent in meaning and usage to the distinctive Siraiki conditional I (4. 14. 2). The ptc. inflects for gender and number:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|---------|-------------|-------------|
| sg. 1-3 | ṭurda | ṭurdi |
| pl. 1-3 | ṭurde | ṭurdiā |

4.16.2 Present

This is formed with the pr. ptc. + pr. aux. The paradigm lists the usual forms, which include many elisions of the aux. (4. 15. 2):

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------|-------------------------------------|--|
| sg. 1 | ṭurdā | ṭurdi ā ~ S ṭurdiā |
| 2 | C ṭurdæ ~ S ṭurdi | C ṭurdi ē ~ S ṭurdi |
| 3 | C ṭurdæ ~ S ṭurde | ṭurdi e ~ S ṭurdiē |
| pl. 1 | ṭurde se ~ C ṭurde hāe ~ S ṭurdū | ṭurdiā se ~ C ṭurdiā hāe ~ S ṭurdiēse |
| 2 | ṭurde ve ~ C ṭurdyo ~ S ṭurdo | ṭurdiā ve ~ ṭurdiā o ~ S ṭurdiēve |
| 3 | ṭurdiin | C ṭurdiāen ~ S ṭurdiin |

4.16.2

The ptc. may also be used with full forms of the aux., but these are far less frequent than the forms given.

In some areas, especially N and the trans-Indus region of C, the present is formed from a ptc. in /-na/, thus 1sg. /karenā/ vs. CS /karēdā/ 'I do'. A similar form is used in P, but only in 1sg., 2sg. and 1pl.

4.16.3 Imperfect

The imperfect is formed with the pr. ptc. + past aux. Since there is no contraction a full paradigm need not be given:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------|-------------|-------------|
| sg. 1 | ṭurda ham | ṭurdi ham |
| | ... | ... |
| pl. 3 | ṭurde han | ṭurdiā han |

4.16.4 Past

This is formed with past ptc. alone, inflected for gender and number:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|---------|-------------|-------------|
| sg. 1-3 | ṭurya | ṭuri |
| pl. 1-3 | ṭurye | ṭuriā |

In tenses formed from the past ptc. of verbs having the ergative construction (8.3.3), broadly corresponding to tr. verbs, the verb is in concord with the logical object and only 3sg. and 3pl. are possible:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------|-------------|-------------|
| sg. 3 | pita | piti |
| pl. 3 | pite | pitriā |

The past tense is used to refer to completed actions, normally in past time.

4.16.5 Perfect

The perfect is formed with the past ptc. + pr. aux. As in the present, short forms of the aux. are commonly elided with the ptc., and the less commonly used alternative full forms are omitted from the paradigm. The contractions are identical with those of the present in the perfect of verbs with irregular past ptc. in /-a/ (4.13), but differ in the mas. when the ptc. ends in /-ya/:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| sg. 1 | ṭuryā | ṭuri ā ~ S ṭuriā |
| 2 | C ṭuryā ~ S ṭuryāī | C ṭuri ē ~ S ṭurī |
| 3 | ṭurye | ṭuri e ~ S ṭurie |
| pl. 1 | ṭurye se ~ S ṭurye hāe ~ S ṭuryū | ṭuriā se ~ C ṭuriā hāe ~ S ṭuriēse |
| 2 | ṭurye ve ~ ṭuryo | ṭuriā ve ~ C ṭuriā o ~ S ṭuriēve |
| 3 | ṭuryin | C ṭuriæn ~ S ṭurim |

Further contractions are possible in the perfect of verbs with past ptc. in /-ea/ (4.12):

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| sg. 1 | peā ~ pyā | pai ā ~ S piā |
| 2 | C pāe ~ S pyāī | C pai ē ~ S paī |
| 3 | C pæ ~ S pe | pai e ~ S pie |
| pl. 1 | pæ se ~ C pæ hāe ~ S pyū | peā se ~ C peā hāe ~ S piēse |
| 2 | pæ ve ~ C pæ o ~ S pyo | peā ve ~ C peā o ~ S piēve |
| 3 | C pæn ~ S pin | C pæn ~ S pin |

Tr. verbs having the ergative construction have only 3sg. and 3pl.:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------|
| sg. 3 | C pitæ ~ S pite | piti e ~ S pitre |
| pl. 3 | pitin | C pitæn ~ S pitim |

The perfect is used to denote completed actions connected in some sense with present time.

4.16.6

4.16.6 Pluperfect

This is formed with the past ptc. + past aux. A full paradigm need not be given, since there are no contractions. Tr. verbs having the ergative construction again have only 3sg. and 3pl.:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------|--------------------|-------------|
| sg. 3 | pita ha ~ pita hai | piti hai |
| pl. 3 | pite han | pitrā han |

Besides its use as a true pluperfect, this tense is also used to refer to past time regarded as separate from the present.

4.16.7 Negatives

Negative forms of the participial tenses incorporate the negative adverbs /na/ or /nhī ~ nī/, more usually than the corresponding adverbs with the prefixes /koi- ~ kə-/.

a) tenses formed with ptc. alone

These prefix /na/:

| | | |
|--------|----------|----------|
| m. sg. | na ṭurda | na ṭurya |
|--------|----------|----------|

b) tenses formed with pr. aux.

These prefix /nhī ~ nī/ and the aux. is usually omitted:

| | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|
| m. sg. | nhī ṭurda | nhī ṭurya |
|--------|-----------|-----------|

The negative pr. aux. (5.6) may also be used.

c) tenses formed with past aux.

These are formed with the negative past aux. (4.15.4), which usually precedes the ptc.:

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| m. sg. 3 | naha ṭurda ~ ṭurda naha | naha ṭurya ~ ṭurya naha |
|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|

Also possible is the positive form preceded by /na/:

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| m. sg. 3 | na ṭurda ha | na ṭurya ha |
|----------|-------------|-------------|

CHAPTER 5

THE VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

5.1 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The use of pronominal suffixes is one of the most interesting features of the language. As their name implies, these correspond semantically to pronouns: formal rules can be established for the substitution of personal pronouns or of demonstrative pronouns by pronominal suffixes (8.5). Unlike the suffixes of Si, the Siraiki suffixes are used only with finite verbal forms, and thus resemble those of Kashmiri or the more restricted sets found in most western varieties of P and the Northern Lahnda dialects. At least in formal speech and writing, however, their use seems to be on the decline, probably under the influence of U and eastern varieties of P, which lack such suffixes.

Two sets of suffixes are in use:

| | <u>direct</u> | <u>oblique</u> |
|-------|---------------|--------------------|
| sg. 1 | -m | -m |
| 2 | -ō | -i ~ -hi ~ -a ~ -o |
| 3 | | -s |
| pl. 1 | -se | -se |
| 2 | -he ~ -ve | -he ~ -ve |
| 3 | | -ne |

Direct suffixes, equivalent to a dir. pronoun, are used only with the tenses formed with ptc. alone, i.e., conditional II and past: there are no forms for 3sg. or 3pl., and only 2sg. is distinguished from the corresponding obl. forms.

Oblique suffixes correspond to an oblique pronoun, i.e., a pronoun in obl. (agentive), d-ac. or pos.: there is a full set for all persons which may be used with stem tenses, the auxiliaries and the participial tenses.

Only two double suffixes are in use: /-mi/ < 1sg. /-m/ + 2sg. /-i/, and /-mis/ < 1sg. /-m/ + 3sg. /-s/.

Modifications undergone by verbal forms to which suffixes are added are best exemplified by individual paradigms: a change of accent with consequent weakening of the root is often involved, especially with the pl. suffixes.

5.2 STEM TENSES + SUFFIXES

Only obl. suffixes (suf.) are possible. Only the imperative and 1sg. and 3sg. of pr. subjunctive and future may have suf., and there are further restrictions on which suf. may be used.

a) imperative + suf.

Only the simple imperative (4.14.3) of tr. verbs may have suf., and only the 3sg. suf. /-s/ is used:

2sg. + 3sg. /-is/ maris khavis

2pl. + 3sg. /-us/ marus khavus

b) 1sg. pr. subjunctive and future + suf.

Only 2sg. and 3sg. suf. may be used:

1sg. + 2sg. /-aI/ dekhaI dekhsaI

+ 3sg. /-æs/ dekhæs dekhsæs

As often with suf., causatives are liable to further reduction by the elision or omission of /-a-/ . The above paradigm of /dekh-/ 'see' may be contrasted with that of /dikha-/ 'show':

1sg. + 2sg. /-'aI/ dikhaI

+ 3sg. /-'æs/ dikhæs < dikhaæs

The accent is preserved in the future of verbs with pr.-fut. /-e-/ in CS, but is transferred with loss of /-e-/ in N:

1sg. + 2sg. /-aI/ CS dikhesai vs. N dikhsai

/-æs/ dikhesæs dikhssæs

c) 3sg. pr. subjunctive and future + suf.

All suf. except 1pl. are used. Forms for the two tenses are parallel, except in 2sg., the only instance of 2sg. /-a/ (in the future), and in 2pl. where there is a change of accent in the pr. subjunctive:

3sg. + 1sg. /-im/ dekhim dekhsim

+ 2sg. /-ia/ dekhsia

/-i/ dekhi ~ S dekhsi

+ 3sg. /-is/ dekhis dekhsis

+ 2pl. /-eve/ di'kheve dekhseve

+ 3pl. /-ine/ dekhine dekhsine

3sg. + 2pl. may also be /-ehe/, preferred after a preceding /v/, thus /ave/ > /avehe/.

Although these forms are clearly derived from 3sg. /dekhe dekhsi/ they may also be used with 3pl. subjects.

d) conditional I + suf.

1sg. and 3sg. pr. subjunctive forms + suf. are also, although rarely, used with the invariable particle /ha/ as conditional I + suf., thus 3sg. + 3sg. /dekhis ha/.

5.3 PARTICIPIAL TENSES + DIRECT SUFFIXES

Direct suffixes are used only with the pr. ptc. as conditional II (4.16.2) and with the past ptc. as past tense (4.16.4).

a) conditional II + suf.

This tense is not often used with dir. suf. Only 1sg. (rare) and 2sg. suf. can be used:

| | | | |
|----------|-------|---------------|---------------|
| +1sg. | /-um/ | <u>dedhum</u> | <u>ṭurdum</u> |
| +2sg. m. | /-ō/ | <u>dedhō</u> | <u>ṭurdō</u> |
| f. | /-iō/ | <u>dedhiō</u> | <u>ṭurdiō</u> |

Conditional II does not admit the use of obl. suf.

b) past + suf.

All four dir. suf. can be used with the past, and this is their commonest use. Only intr. verbs can take dir. suf., since verbs following the ergative construction in the past will have obl. suf. only (5.4). There is no distinction for gender in past + suf. The pl. suf. involve a shift of accent, with weakening of the root and loss of /-a-/ in the few intr. roots of the type /šarma-/ 'be ashamed': when the ptc. is in /-ea/ there is variable accent in 1sg. These changes are illustrated in the paradigms:

| | | | | | |
|--------|---------|----------------|-------|----------|-------------|
| + 1sg. | /-um/ | <u>ṭuryum</u> | ayum | šarmayum | peum ~ pyom |
| + 2sg. | /-ō/ | <u>ṭuryō</u> | ayō | šarmayō | peō |
| + 1pl. | /-'ose/ | <u>ṭuryose</u> | ayose | šarmyose | pyose |
| + 2pl. | /-'ohe/ | <u>ṭuryohe</u> | ayohē | šarmyohē | pyohē |

Variant forms of the pl. as /-'ase -'ahe/ are occasionally used still, and are found in the older poetry. 2pl. /-'ove/ is a rare variant. /h/ is lost regularly in 2pl. /rihoe/ < /rah-/ 'remain' (1.12.6).

5.4 PAST + OBLIQUE SUFFIXES

Obl. suf. may be used with the past of all verbs in senses corresponding to a d-ac. or pos. pronoun, while their most frequent use is with the past of tr. verbs corresponding to an obl. pronoun as subject in the ergative construction.

There is a full set of forms for all six persons. As in the past + dir. suf. there is no distinction for gender, but the number of the verb is distinguished in 2sg. and 3sg. All forms other than 1sg. /-um/, 2sg. /-o/ and 3sg. /-us/ always involve a shift of accent and weakening of the root, including loss of /-a-/ in causatives such as /paka-/ 'cook'. The verb is always third person:

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|----------|-------------|
| 3sg./pl. + 1sg. /-um/ | maryum | ayum | pakayum | peum ~ pyom |
| 3sg. + 2sg. /-o/ | maryo | ayo | pakayo | peo |
| /-'oi/ | ~ maryoi | ~ ayoi | ~ pakyo | ~ pyoi |
| pl. + 2sg. /-'oni/ | maryoni | ayoni | pakyo | pyoni |
| 3sg. + 3sg. /-us/ | maryus | ayus | pakayus | peus ~ pyos |
| /-'osi/ | ~ maryosi | ~ ayosi | ~ pakyo | ~ pyosi |
| pl. + 3sg. /-'onis/ | maryonis | ayonis | pakyonis | pyonis |
| 3sg./pl. + 1pl. /-'ose/ | maryose | ayose | pakyo | pyose |
| sg./pl. + 2pl. /-'ohe/ | maryohe | ayohe | pakyohe | pyohe |
| sg./pl. + 3pl. /-'one/ | maryone | ayone | pakyo | pyone |

Sg. + 2sg. has a further variant /-'ohi/: /-'ohe/ is used to the exclusion of /-'ove/ in 2pl. Variants with /-'a-/ for /-'o-/ are possible but rare.

The two double suffixes (5.1) are sometimes used with the past of tr. verbs:

| | | |
|------------------------|----------|----------|
| 3sg./pl. + 1sg. + 2sg. | /-umi/ | maryumi |
| + 3sg. | /-'omis/ | maryomis |

5.5 PRESENT AUXILIARY + SUFFIXES

The pr. aux. + obl. suf. has sets of both full and short forms:

| | <u>full forms</u> | <u>short forms</u> |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 3sg./pl. + 1sg. | him ~ hime ~ himi | im ~ mi |
| 3sg. + 2sg. | hi ~ hivi ~ S hai | i ~ vi ~ S ai |
| pl. + 2sg. | C hini ~ S heni | ni ~ C ini ~ S eni |
| 3sg. + 3sg. | his ~ hisi | is ~ si |
| pl. + 3sg. | C hinis ~ S henis | nis ~ C inis ~ S enis |
| 3sg./pl. + 1pl. | C hise ~ S hese | se ~ C ise ~ S ese |
| sg./pl. + 2pl. | C hive ~ S heve | ve ~ C ive ~ S eve |
| sg./pl. + 3pl. | C hine ~ S hene | ne ~ C ine ~ S ene |

As in the case of the past + obl. suffixes the number of the verb is distinguished only + 2sg./3sg. suf., and is always third person.

In contrast with the simple pr. aux. (4. 15. 1), the use of the full forms of the pr. aux. + suf. is normal: the longer forms with the sg. suf. are slightly more emphatic than /him hi his/.

The most common use of the short forms is after a ptc. in periphrastic tenses. The use of the present with contracted short forms of the pr. aux. + suf., although common in older texts, appears to be obsolescent: the paradigm follows exactly that of the perfect of verbs with past ptc. in /-a/ given below.

5.5.1 Perfect + oblique suffixes

The most common use of the short forms of the pr. aux. + suf. is in the perfect, especially of tr. verbs, with suf. corresponding to an obl. pronoun as subject in the ergative construction.

The paradigm illustrates possible contracted forms in the perfect of a tr. verb with past ptc. in /-a/: rules for writing elisions follow those given for the simple pr. aux. (4. 15. 2). The verb is always third person, but the ptc. will inflect for gender and number (4. 16. 5):

| | mas. | fem. |
|-------------|---------------------|--|
| 3sg. + 1sg. | C pitæm ~ S pitim | piti im ~ S pitim |
| + 2sg. | pitai | pitri |
| + 3sg. | C pitæs ~ S pitis | piti is ~ S pitis |
| + 1pl. | C pitæse ~ S pitese | piti se |
| + 2pl. | C pitæve ~ S piteve | piti ve |
| + 3pl. | C pitæne ~ S pitene | piti ne |
| 3pl. + 1sg. | C pite im ~ S pitim | C pitræm ~ S pitim |
| + 2sg. | pitini ~ piteni | pitrâ ni ~ C pitræni ~ S pitreni |
| + 3sg. | pitinis ~ pitenis | pitrâ nis ~ C pitrænis ~ S pitrenis |
| + 1pl. | pitise ~ pitese | pitrâ se ~ C pitræse ~ S pitrêse |
| + 2pl. | pitive ~ piteve | pitrâ ve ~ C pitræve ~ S pitrêve |
| + 3pl. | pitine ~ pitene | pitrâ ne ~ C pitræne ~ S pitrene |

Full forms are quite freely employed also, to avoid confusions and awkward vowel sequences. Sg./pl. + 1sg./-mi/ and sg. + 3sg./-si/ properly imply a sense of immediacy in the perfective action, but their convenience in avoiding awkward vowel sequences probably accounts for their use in other contexts too, as equivalent to a simple perfect. Since /-mi/ is reserved for this use, the only possible double suffix is 1sg. + 3sg. /-mis ~ -imis/. This is rare:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| sg. + 1sg. + 3sg. | C pitæmis ~ S pitimis | piti mis |
| pl. + 1sg. + 3sg. | pite mis | pitrā mis |

The perfect + suf. from verbs with past ptc. in /-ya/ diverges markedly in the mas. sg. in C from the paradigm, while causatives in /-'aya/ demonstrate the usual further contractions involving loss of /-'a-/:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>mas.</u> |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|
| 3sg. + 1sg. | marya im | pakaæm > pakæm |
| + 2sg. | marya i ~ maryai | pakaya i > pakai |
| + 3sg. | marya is | pakaæs > pakæs |
| + 1pl. | marya se | pakaæse |
| + 2pl. | marya ve | pakaæve |
| + 3pl. | marya ne | pakaæne |

Other genders and numbers follow the paradigm, although further contractions of the ptc. in /-'aya/ are possible, e.g. fem. sg. + 1sg. /pakai im > pakaim/, + 3sg. /pakai is > pakais/.

Intr. verbs do not commonly have perfect + obl. suf. The perfect of /po-/, commonly used in forming modal compound verbs (7.7.1), may be cited as an example of the contractions possible in C in the perfect of a verb with past ptc. in /-ea/:

| | <u>mas.</u> | <u>fem.</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 3sg. + 1sg. | pæm | pai im ~ pai mi |
| + 2sg. | pai | pai i ~ pai |
| + 3sg. | pæs | pai is ~ pai si |
| + 1pl. | pæse | pai se |
| + 2pl. | pæve | pai ve |
| + 3pl. | pæne | pai ne |

| | | |
|-------------|-------|---------------|
| 3pl. + 1sg. | pæm | peã im ~ pæm |
| + 2sg. | pæni | peani |
| + 3sg. | pænis | peanis |
| + 1pl. | pæse | peã se ~ pæse |
| + 2pl. | pæve | peã ve ~ pæve |
| + 3pl. | pæne | peã ne |

Persons other than 3sg. and 3pl. are theoretically possible: the only common form is 2sg. (mas.) + 3sg. /pæs/.

5.6 NEGATIVE PRESENT AUXILIARY

While the simple negative /nhĩ ~ nĩ/ may be used to express the negative of the pr. aux. (4.15.4), there also exist personal negative forms clearly cognate with the pronominal suffixes. These are restricted to 1sg., 2sg., 1pl. and 2pl., like the dir. suffixes.

There also exists a set of forms corresponding to the negative of the pr. aux. + suf. (5.5): like the obl. suf., these exist for all persons.

These sets are a quite distinctive feature of the language:

| | <u>neg. pr. aux.</u> | | <u>neg. pr. aux. + suf.</u> |
|------|----------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| 1sg. | nĩmhi | + 1sg. | nĩmhi |
| 2sg. | C nãh ~ nivhẽ ~ S nivhi | + 2sg. | nivhi |
| | | + 3sg. | nĩsi |
| 1pl. | nĩse | + 1pl. | nĩse |
| 2pl. | nivhe | + 2pl. | nivhe |
| | | + 3pl. | nĩnhe |

Most items appear in both sets. /nĩsi/ may be used as an emphatic variant for /nhĩ ~ nĩ/ as neg. pr. aux., normally as 3sg.

The second set is often used with the prefixes /koi- ~ kæ-/, which may serve to mark the distinction from the first set, thus /koinĩmhi ~ kænĩmhi/ 'I have not' vs. /nĩmhi/ 'I am not'. But prefixed forms may also be used in the simple neg. pr. aux.

The neg. pr. aux. may be used to form the negative of the present and of the perfect of intr. verbs. The neg. pr. aux. + suf. provides negative forms of the present + suf., and of the perfect + suf.

5.7 PAST AUXILIARY + SUFFIXES

The aux. is always 3sg. or 3pl. All suffixes are used:

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 3sg./pl. + 1sg. | ham ~ [haim] > hæm |
| 3sg. + 2sg. | havi |
| pl. + 2sg. | hani |
| 3sg. + 3sg. | has |
| pl. + 3sg. | hanis |
| 3sg./pl. + 1pl. | hase |
| sg./pl. + 2pl. | have |
| sg./pl. + 3pl. | hane |

Forms + 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. are identical with the corresponding persons of the simple past aux. (4.15.3). One double suffix is possible:

| | |
|------------------------|-------|
| 3sg./pl. + 1sg. + 3sg. | hamis |
|------------------------|-------|

This is used only in the pluperfect + suf., which is much more frequent than the imperfect + suf. Neither tense involves contracted forms.

The neg. past aux. + suf. is formed by prefixing /nΛ/. Prefixed forms typically mark the distinction from the simple neg. past aux. (4.15.4) as in the neg. pr. aux., thus /koinΛham/ 'I had not' vs. /nΛham/ 'I was not'.

CHAPTER 6

THE NOMINAL PHRASE

6.1 SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASES

These consist of a single word only, normally a noun, an adjective or a pronoun:

| | |
|----------|------------|
| /chohar/ | 'a boy' |
| /Amir/ | 'the rich' |
| /kui/ | 'someone' |

Some parts of the verb are used as nouns or adjectives (7.10-11):

| | |
|----------------|----------|
| /dhrukan/ | 'to run' |
| /dhrukan vala/ | 'runner' |

Adverbs may also occur as simple nominal phrases, but normally only in the special type of adverbial phrases (6.4).

Adjectives and pronouns presuppose an absence of modification, since they can occur as the main element of a nominal phrase only in simple nominal phrases: there is no such restriction on the use of nouns. All types of word so far mentioned may also occur as subordinate elements in complex nominal phrases.

6.2 MODIFIERS OF NOUNS

Complex nominal phrases have by definition a noun as their main element. Modifiers normally precede the noun and undergo appropriate morphological change to show concord with it for gender and number. Types of modifier are:

a) adjectives

| | |
|----------------|--------------|
| /caña chohar/ | 'good boy' |
| /cañiā chorhī/ | 'good girls' |

b) numerals

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| /du chohar/ | 'two boys' |
| /chi hazar rupæ/ | 'six thousand rupees' |

Numerals precede adjectives, unless the adjective qualifies the numeral:

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| /du cañiā chorhī/ | 'two good girls' |
| /pure du sao rupæ/ | 'quite two hundred rupees' |

c) pronouns

Possible modifiers are demonstrative, indefinite and possessive pronouns, as well as pronominal adjectives. These all precede other items in the phrase:

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| /e car purañiā kitabā/ | 'these four old books' |
| /kvi cañā admi/ | 'some good man' |
| /tuhada dujha dost/ | 'your other friend' |
| /bæ træ hafte/ | 'a further three weeks' |

Demonstrative and possessive pronouns may precede or follow each other:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| /e sadi boli ~ sadi e boli/ | 'this language of ours' |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|

d) interjections

These are confined to vocative phrases, in which they come first:

| | |
|------------|----------------|
| /oe kutya/ | 'hey you dog!' |
|------------|----------------|

e) nominal phrases + adjectival ppn. (2.7.1.a)

Both simple and complex nominal phrases may occur: the main element, and any modifiers of this, will be obl. The commonest ppn. is /da/:

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| /ʌmirā di koṭhi/ | 'a house of rich people' |
| /unhā ʌmir lokā di koṭhi/ | 'the house of those rich people' |
| /lariā vala ʌda/ | 'lorry stand' |
| /tæ jhālī chohir/ | 'a girl like you' |

f) concord

Modifiers inflect for concord with the main element in a nominal phrase. The only exception to the rules given in 2.5.1 is the occasional use of f.sg. modifier with f.pl. noun. This is due to the influence of U, which does not employ f.pl. modifiers:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| /mulk diā cupḍhī ~ (mulk di cupḍhī)/ | 'the corners of the country' |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|

6.2.1 Post-modifiers

Post-modifiers are much less common, but include:

a) honorifics

These include the honorific particle /ji/ and the enclitic honorific /hoŋe ~ hoŋa ~ hoŋi/, as well as the specialized use of such nouns as /sai ~ səhiɓ/ 'master' in the sense of 'Mr.' Honorifics are used only after names and terms of address:

/Amā hoŋi/ 'mother dear'

/sadiɓ sai/ 'Mr. Sadiq'

Similar is the use of possessive pronouns in a few set phrases:

/ma mædi/ 'mother mine'

b) adjectives

A few adjectives are often, but not invariably, used as post-modifiers:

/bal šoda/ 'the poor child'

c) longer modifiers

Longer phrasal modifiers often follow the noun: this is especially true of relative clauses introduced by the pronouns /jo ~ jerha/ (8.8.3).

6.3 MODIFIERS OF ADJECTIVES

These are more restricted than modifiers of nouns; some are used only with numerals. Most modifiers precede the adjective:

a) intensive modifiers

These include adverbs such as /bahū/ 'very', /bilkul/ 'quite' or adjectives such as /vada bara daɗha/, which can all be used in the specialized sense of 'very':

/bahū piara manzar/ 'a very lovely view'

/bilkul ɬik jawab/ 'a quite correct answer'

/daɗhi soŋhi chohir/ 'a very beautiful girl'

b) indefinite pronouns

/kujh/ is used with adjectives:

/kujh caŋa admi/ 'quite a good fellow'

But /kui/ is used with numerals, without inflexion:

/kui daɗ admi/ 'some ten men'

A similar sense is given by the juxtaposition of different numerals:

/pañj chi admi/ 'half a dozen men'

c) adverbial nominal phrases

The nominal phrase may be simple or complex, and the main element will be obl., followed by a ppn. of any class. The main element is usually a noun, but may be a pronoun in a simple phrase:

/bhaṭ vāgū tati ret/ 'sand as hot as a furnace'

/ḥaḍe paṇi nal bharya gilas/ 'a glass filled with cold water'

An important sub-category is that of comparative phrases ending in /kanū ~ kolū/ 'than':

/maḍe kolū sraṇe lok/ 'people cleverer than I'

/sabh kanū vadi imarat/ 'the biggest building of all'

6.3.1 Post-modifiers

These are even more restricted than post-modifiers of nouns (6.2.1). When used after adjectives /jheā/, elsewhere an adjectival ppn., has the sense of 'quite, -ish':

/uca jheā tība/ 'quite a high hill'

Numerals have the special indefinite post-modifier /khan/. This is used with round numbers only:

/hazar khan sal/ 'about a thousand years'

Longer phrasal modifiers follow adjectives much more rarely than nouns.

6.4 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Adverbial phrases may modify adjectives (6.3. a, c). Other types, which may modify verbs (8.4), include:

a) adverbs (3.2-4)

/ith/ 'here' /aj/ 'to-day'

/na/ 'not' /andir/ 'inside'

b) adjectives

These are freely used to modify verbs as adverbs in concord with the subject or as m. obl. sg., thus /tikha/ 'swift' > /tikha ~ tirkhe/ 'swiftly' (8.4).

c) adverbial nominal phrases

These may be simple or complex. Simple phrases usually consist of a noun in loc., sometimes in abl:

/lɛie/ 'at Leiah' /ratī/ 'by night'
/skulū/ 'from the school'

In complex phrases the main element is usually a noun, either in loc. or abl, or in obl. +ppn.:

/sade šahrē/ 'in our cities'
/ʌpne ɣharū/ 'from one's own house'
/ī maʊke te/ 'on this occasion'
/hazarā xudavā di bajae/ 'in place of thousands of gods'

d) subordinate verbal phrases

These are separately itemized below (7.12).

6.5 REITERATION

The reiteration of an element in a nominal phrase conveys emphasis, often also a sense of completeness or of distribution.

a) nouns

These are commonly repeated only in adverbial phrases, usually conveying a sense of completeness or of distribution:

/galhī galhī vic sara vakt zae hōda vædæ/N54¹

'Time is being wasted in all this talking.'

/vari vari saryā kū catus/N95

'He lifted them all in turn.'

b) pronouns

These are used in a similar sense, both in simple phrases and as modifiers of nouns:

/e kaon kaon in/N358 'Who are all these people?'

/e šer asā kīnhā kīnhā kitabā icū golū/

'In which books are we to search for this verse?'

¹ References for the quotations are to page-numbers of the texts cited in the second Bibliography.

c) numerals

The sense is normally distributive:

/car car thi ke ao/ 'Come by fours.'

/multan de hīk hīk admi kanū puchya im/

'I have asked each and every man
in Multan.'

d) adjectives

A distributive sense is sometimes implied:

/dava da camca thoṛi thoṛi der de bad dēdi rahē/N249

'Keep giving him a dose of
medicine at short intervals.'

But the reiteration of qualitative adjectives is purely intensive:

/apne tate tate hoṭh ūde hoṭhā nal mila dītonis/N97

'She pressed her burning lips to
his.'

e) adverbs

Reiteration of adverbs to convey emphasis is common:

/maṭhē maṭhē bolo/ 'Speak (rather) slowly!'

/sade kolū kiū parhe parhe rāhdyo/

'Why do keep so far away from
us?'

6.6 LINKED NOMINAL PHRASES

Nominal phrases may be linked by co-ordinating conjunctions (3.6.a), of which the commonest is /te/ 'and'. /te/ may link whole nominal phrases:

/bheṇo te bhiravo/ 'sisters and brothers!'

In a series of linked phrases /te/ appears before the last member only:

/carxa katan, caki pihan te ghar de kam kar ic/J44

'in spinning, grinding and house-
hold tasks'

/te/ may also link modifiers within complex nominal phrases:

/boliā te zubanā da taluk/V16 'the connexion of languages and
tongues'

/unhā da farsī arbi te sirāki kalam/J42

'his Persian, Arabic and Siraiki
verse'

Modifiers of nouns linked by /te/ will usually be in concord with the first:

/unhē diā košīšā te xīdmat/V67

'his efforts and service'

The conjunction /ya/ 'or' is used similarly to /te/, but may appear before both members of the linked phrase:

/ya ıslam ya talvar/ 'either Islam or the sword!'

The usual function of /par/ 'but' is to link clauses, but it may link adjectives within a nominal phrase:

/soḡha par udas cehra/ 'a beautiful but sad face'

6.7 COMPOUND NOMINAL PHRASES

Compound nominal phrases are distinct both from complex phrases involving subordination, and linked phrases involving the use of a conjunction. Several types of compound nominal phrase are to be distinguished.

6.7.1 Apposition

Only phrases of the same type may be used in apposition, thus two nominal phrases:

/mæda trijha putr ıshak/ 'my third son Ishaq'

The most frequent type of apposition has two adverbial phrases:

/sajyū khabyū/ 'from left and right'

/vele kuvele/ 'in season and out of season'

/chanḡan terhvī kū/ 'on Saturday the thirteenth'

Apposition within nominal phrases is rare but possible:

/tusā bhiravā di tankid/Niii 'your criticism, brothers'

Adjectival modifiers of distinct meaning are usually linked by a conjunction, but may be in apposition:

/mæla purāḡa šahar/ 'dirty old city'

Apposition is normally confined to pairs of phrases, longer sequences having a conjunction, usually /te/, before the last member.

6.7.2 True compounds

Compound pronouns and adverbs have already been discussed (2.12; 3.2.1). Compound nouns and adjectives include many loans from E and U (1.11.4), especially in educated speech and writing, which do not call for analysis here, as well as the following types:

a) noun + noun

There is a small class of pairs of nouns denoting relations conventionally used together to yield a compound embracing the meanings of both:

| | | | | | | |
|-------|----------|---|--------|-----------|---|-------------------------------|
| /ma/ | 'mother' | + | /piu/ | 'father' | | |
| | | | | | > | /ma piu ~ piu ma/ 'parents' |
| /piu/ | 'father' | + | /putr/ | 'son' | | |
| | | | | | > | /piu putr/ 'father and son' |
| /zal/ | 'wife' | + | /mard/ | 'husband' | | |
| | | | | | > | /zal mard/ 'husband and wife' |

Such pairs are distinguished by their conventional inflexion as a collective plural, only the second member taking the case-morpheme:

/duhaē zal mardā diā nazrā/N64

'the looks of both husband and wife'

Some of these compounds form derivative abstract nouns, such as /piu putrai/ 'father-son relationship'.

Many other pairs of nouns of similar meaning are conventionally used together, but without the distinctive inflexion of the first type:

| | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| /daori soṭa/ | 'mortar and pestle' |
| /khir khaṇḍ/ | 'milk and sugar' |

b) obl. noun + noun / adjective

These are modifying compounds, in which the first noun modifies the meaning of the second to yield a new collective meaning for the compound. Since the first noun is always sg., only nouns of declension I show inflexion for the obl.:

nouns

| | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|---|---------|------------|---|--------------------------------|
| /maraṇ/ | 'to die' | + | /mañja/ | 'bed' | | |
| | | | | | > | /maraṇ mañja/ 'death-bed' |
| /lela/ | 'lamb' | + | /bak/ | 'bleat' | | |
| | | | | | > | /lele bak/ 'early morning' |
| /sad/ | 'call' | + | /pandh/ | 'distance' | | |
| | | | | | > | /sad pandh/ 'calling-distance' |

adjectives

| | | | | | |
|--------|----------|-----------|----------|----------------|------------------|
| /gata/ | 'nape' | + /bhana/ | 'broken' | > /gate bhani/ | (a mild insult) |
| /ma/ | 'mother' | + /jaya/ | 'born' | > /ma jaya/ | 'full (brother)' |

This is the most productive class of true compounds. As in the next type, the primary accent falls on the tonic of the first element (1.11.4). Transcription of these compounds as two words is in accordance with native orthography; but in some cases historical compounds are to be regarded as single words, thus /pichlag/ 'hanger-on' < /piche/ 'behind' + /lag-/ 'be attached'.

c) abl. noun + noun / adjective

These are also modifying compounds, like the more common type with obl. noun as first element. Nouns are rarely used as the second element:

| | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--|
| /sotr/ | 'father's brother's son (daughter)' | > /sotrū sotr/ | 'cousin's cousin, any distant relation' |
|--------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--|

Adjectival compounds are more frequent:

| | | | | | |
|--------|--------|---------------------|---------|--------------------------|----------------|
| /sir/ | 'head' | + /naṅga ~ [raṅha]/ | 'bare' | > /sirū naṅga ~ [raṅha]/ | 'bare-headed' |
| /hath/ | 'hand' | + /xali/ | 'empty' | > /hathū xali/ | 'empty-handed' |

The frequency with which these and similar items occur suggest their separate classification, although they could be regarded as special cases of adjectives modified by adverbial nominal phrases (6.3.c), of the type exemplified by:

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| /muḥabbat kane bharpur nazrā/ | N90 | 'looks filled with love' |
|-------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|

d) adjective + noun

This is an unusual type in that the adjective precedes the noun which acts as a post-modifier:

| | | | | | |
|--------|---------|----------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| /kula/ | 'soft' | + /bhat/ | 'boiled rice' | > /kula bhat/ | 'soft as boiled rice' |
| /cīṭa/ | 'white' | + /khir/ | 'milk' | > /cīṭa khir/ | 'milk-white' |

Only the adjective inflects, thus:

/cɪṭe khīr mukhre te/N42 'on his milk-white face'

6.7.3 Doublet compounds

Doublet compounds are distinguished from true compounds by the fact that it is always the first element which gives the phrase its meaning. The second element, which may itself be meaningless, is phonetically conditioned by the first, whose meaning is altered only by imprecise expansion, unlike the true compounds of the type /d̪ɔri soṭa/ 'mortar and pestle' (6.7.2.a) which some types of doublet compound superficially resemble.

a) echo doublets

These are the simplest type, applicable to almost any noun, but confined to colloquial speech. The second element is a meaningless reiteration of the first, with /š-/ substituted for an initial consonant or prefixed to an initial vowel:

/ghɪu/ 'ghee' > /ghɪu šɪu/

/ʌṇḍa/ 'egg' > /ʌṇḍe šʌṇḍe/

Nouns with initial /š-/ substitute /m-/:

/šiša/ 'glass, mirror' > /šiše miše/

b) alliterative doublets

The second element is predictable from the first only as alliterating with it. The second element may be meaningless by itself, and often has a different syllabic pattern:

/cori/ 'theft' > /cori cikari/

/chohar/ 'boy' > /chohar chatikkār/

Adjectives may not have echo doublets, but may have alliterative doublets:

/soṇha/ 'beautiful' > /soṇha saṇḍḍha/

Synonymous nouns are also frequently linked in alliterative doublets, with imprecise expansion of the meaning:

/kani/ 'edge' + /kɪnara/ 'edge'
 > /kani kɪnara/ 'edge'

c) rhyming doublets

The second element is predictable from the first only as rhyming with it, and may be meaningless:

/kuṛ/ 'lies' > /kuṛ baḍuṛ/

The use of synonymous adjectives in rhyming doublets is particularly common:

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|---|---------|-----------|----------------------------|
| /suña/ | 'forlorn' | + | /muña/ | 'forlorn' | |
| | | | | > | /suña muña/ 'forlorn' |
| /navā/ | 'new' | + | /savā/ | 'fresh' | |
| | | | | > | /nava savā/ 'quite new' |
| /hare/ | 'green' | + | /bhare/ | 'full' | |
| | | | | > | /hare bhare/ 'green, lush' |

d) synonymous doublets

Doublets of synonyms without phonetic patterning are less common:

| | | | | | |
|--------|---------|---|----------|----------|-----------------------------|
| /kuṛ/ | 'lies' | + | /fāreb/ | 'deceit' | |
| | | | | > | /kuṛ fāreb/ 'lies' |
| /val/ | 'twist' | + | /pher/ | 'turn' | |
| | | | | > | /val pher/ 'twist and turn' |
| /šoda/ | 'needy' | + | /muthaj/ | 'needy' | |
| | | | | > | /šoda muthaj/ 'needy' |

6.7.4 Reiterative compounds

Reiterative compounds represent a specialized instance of the use of reiteration for emphasis (6.5).

a) 'pre-echo' reiteration

This is confined to a few adverbs. The first element is a meaningless rhyme of the second, whose meaning it emphasizes:

| | | | | |
|----------|------------|---|----------------|------------------|
| /samhṇe/ | 'in front' | > | /amhṇe samhṇe/ | 'right in front' |
|----------|------------|---|----------------|------------------|

b) /-o-/ reiteration

Compounds may be formed by the reiteration the same word after /-o-/. Such reiterative compounds are written as one word.

Nouns are converted into adverbs in such compounds, often with a distributive sense:

| | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|-----------|-------------------|
| /dīh/ | 'day' | > | /dīhoḍīh/ | 'from day to day' |
|-------|-------|---|-----------|-------------------|

Adjectives are intensified in meaning:

| | | | | |
|-------|------------|---|-----------|------------------|
| /aṇj/ | 'separate' | > | /aṇjoaṇj/ | 'quite separate' |
|-------|------------|---|-----------|------------------|

CHAPTER 7

THE VERBAL PHRASE

7.1 MAIN AND SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES

Main verbal phrases are an essential element of sentences, unlike nominal phrases. A simple main verbal phrase is defined as consisting of any of the finite forms of a simple verb, including such forms + suf.:

| | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| /jʊlū/ | 'Shall we go?' |
| /akhyʊs/ | 'He said.' |
| /thik e/ | 'That's right.' |
| /caña r̥ahsɪ/ | 'That'll be best.' |
| /mæ p̥idā/ | 'I drink.' |

Simple main verbal phrases may have more than one element, including auxiliaries and negative adverbs, which are to be regarded as forming integral parts of the phrase:

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| /mæ p̥ida ham/ | 'I used to smoke.' |
| /o gea na hosi/ | 'He will not have gone.' |

Compound main verbal phrases consist of similar finite forms of the various types of compound verb which are described in the following paragraphs (7.2-9). Most types are quite dissimilar in formation from complex and compound nominal phrases. More than one type of compound may be used in a single verbal phrase, but the total number of elements seldom exceeds four.

Subordinate verbal phrases have as their main element a non-finite verbal form. These phrases may be classified as nominal, adjectival or adverbial (7.10-12), and are similar in function to the comparable types of nominal phrase (6.1-2.4), except that the adverbial type may modify verbs only, not adjectives.

Other elements subordinate to a main verbal phrase are described in the context of the sentence in Chapter 8.

7.2 NOMINAL CONJUNCT VERBS

These are composed of a pre-verbal noun or adjective used in conjunction with a verb. Only a few verbs are commonly used

to form conjunct verbs:

| <u>to form tr. conjuncts</u> | | <u>to form intr. conjuncts</u> | |
|------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|----------|
| /kar-/ | 'do' | /thi-/ | 'become' |
| /de-/ | 'give' | /(ho-)/ | 'be' |
| /ghat-/ | 'cast' | /a-/ | 'come' |
| /ghin-/ | 'take' | /po-/ | 'lie' |
| /kha-/ | 'eat' | | |
| /mar-/ | 'beat' | | |

/ho-/ 'be' is used to form intr. conjuncts only as an alternative to the much preferred /thi-/ 'become': this is a modern imitation of U P, which have only /ho-/ (4.15.5).

Most conjuncts take their meaning from the pre-verbal and function as verbs of corresponding meaning, especially pairs formed with /kar-/ (tr.) and /thi-/ (intr.), which account for the majority of all conjuncts, thus:

| | | | | |
|---------|-------------|---|--------------|-----------------|
| /šv'ru/ | 'beginning' | > | /švuru kar-/ | 'begin' (tr.) |
| | | | /švuru thi-/ | 'begin' (intr.) |

But conjuncts may also have extended meanings:

| | | | | |
|---------|------------|---|--------------|--|
| /sidha/ | 'straight' | > | /sidha kar-/ | 'straighten, reform' |
| | | | /sidha thi-/ | 'be straightened, reformed; lie down straight' |

In a small group of conjuncts the meaning derives from the verb, the pre-verbal being a noun cognate with the root:

| | | | | |
|-------|--------|---|------------|-----------------|
| /gā-/ | 'sing' | > | /gaṇa gā-/ | 'sing (a song)' |
|-------|--------|---|------------|-----------------|

Many of the commonest nouns give rise to a wide range of conjuncts as pre-verbals. The meanings of such conjuncts are often quite unpredictable from the constituent elements, thus:

| | | | | | |
|--------|--------|---|---------|--------------|------------------|
| /hath/ | 'hand' | + | /a-/ | 'come' | |
| | | | > | /hath a-/ | 'be blamed' |
| | | + | /ca-/ | 'raise' | |
| | | | > | /hath ca-/ | 'desert' |
| | | + | /de-/ | 'give' | |
| | | | > | /hath de-/ | 'promise, blame' |
| | | + | /ghat-/ | 'cast' | |
| | | | > | /hath ghat-/ | 'seize' |

- + /kār-/ 'do'
 > /hath kār-/ 'grasp'
 + /rakh-/ 'put'
 > /hath rakh-/ 'patronize'

Nominal conjunct verbs may form main verbal phrases:

- /fīlam śuru thai/ 'The film began.'
 /ū gana gāya/ 'He sang (a song).'
 /chohīr kū hath ghatyus/ 'He seized the girl.'

7.3 CATENATIVE COMPOUNDS

These compounds are formed with a catenative ptc. (4.9.1) and a second verb freely conjugated. The basic meaning of the compound is determined by the first element, but is modified by the second in various ways.

7.3.1 Modal catenative compounds

The first element may be any verb, while the second is drawn from a restricted list of specialized verbs or forms of verbs used in a specialized sense:

- a) catenative ptc. + /CS sag- ~ CN saṅg-/ 'be able to do'

/sag- ~ saṅg-/ may be used only in such compounds, which are used freely in all tenses:

- /o sīraki bol saṅdæ/ 'He can speak Siraiki.'

- /akhtar uṭhi na sagya/N250 'Akhtar could not get up.'

- b) catenative ptc. + /bah- ~ cuk-/

'have finished doing, have already done'

The first alternative is a specialized use of /bah-/ 'sit', normally confined to tenses formed from the past ptc.:

- /o akh baṭhi hai/N141 'She had already spoken.'

/cuk-/ is also confined to tenses formed from the past ptc., and is used only in such compounds. As distinct from the independent verb /cuk-/ 'err', this /cuk-/ probably represents a loan from the U /cuk-/ used in the same way, although instances of its use are found

in older poetry:

/nɪbh cukye vakt darmalre de/F176

'The times for a cure are
already past.'

c) catenative ptc. + /rah-/ 'finish doing, stop doing'

One of several specialized uses of /rah-/ 'remain', such compounds are usual in tenses other than those formed from the past ptc.:

/kha ræh/

'Stop eating!'

/o roṭi kha rahsi sadi galh sunsi/

'Once he has finished eating, he
will listen to us.'

d) catenative ptc. + /reha/ + aux. 'be doing'

This is another specialized use of /rah-/:

/o roṭi kha rahi e/

'She is eating.'

Such compounds are liable to confusion with the previous type, i.e., as 'she has finished eating', and are much less common than other compounds with a continuous sense (7.7.1): they represent an imperfectly established loan from U P, e.g., U/voh khana kha rahi hæ/.

7.3.2 Intensive catenative compounds

These constitute a much larger class, to whose analysis and description, as they occur in related languages such as Hindi, a considerable amount of attention has been devoted. Only a summary account is given here.

The meaning of the first element is reinforced rather than substantially modified by the second, which has no independent meaning. The second element is drawn from a restricted list of verbs and is freely conjugated. While the verb in nominal conjuncts (7.2) is lexically determined by the pre verbal, there is no such immediately apparent connexion between the elements in intensive catenative compounds, other than the use of tr. and intr. verbs with tr. and intr. reinforcers.

a) intr. intensive compounds

These are mostly formed with:

/po-/ 'lie', used only with intr. verbs, and often implying sudden action in the past.

/vañ-/ 'go', the commonest and weakest of all reinforcers, used with both tr. and intr. verbs.

The difference made by the use of an intensive compound to the meaning of the first element is not always translatable, although it sometimes corresponds to the use of such English compounds as 'speak out' vs. 'speak':

/axir chohar piu de samhne ala pya/

'Finally the boy spoke out before his father.'

/Aj da dih ræh poyo/N50

'Stay for to-day.'

/chokri dujhe pase nikil gai/N74

'The girl went out the other way.'

Passive stems, which have no true past ptc. (4.11), are quite commonly used in such compounds in the past:

/khir vitij pya/

'The milk was spilt.'

/sanduk da kūda murrij gya ha/V31

'The lock of the box had been forced.'

Verbs other than /po-/ and /vañ-/ seldom occur as reinforcers in intr. intensive compounds outside such isolated idiomatic uses as /bæh thi/ 'sit down!'

b) tr. intensive compounds

The first element is always a tr. verb, usually followed by one of the tr. reinforcers listed below. These convey different shades of reinforcement:

/ghin-/ 'take', implies action directed towards the doer, often with a sense of completion, sometimes of a barely accomplished action.

/de-/ 'give', the commonest tr. reinforcer, implying action directed away from the doer.

/chor-/ 'leave', also common, and virtually synonymous with /de-/ as a reinforcer.

/ghat-/ 'cast', less common but more forceful than /de- ~ chor-/.

/saṭ-/ 'throw', similar in frequency and force to /ghat-/.

A few other reinforcers are sometimes used, but the above five account for the great majority of tr. intensive compounds:

/māe inhā gajrā kū kha ghinsā/

'I'll (manage to) eat up these carrots.'

/ukū tarha dītus ~ tarha choryus/

'He chased him away.'

/Axtar husæn xan kū razamand kar ghatyus/N72

'Akhtar forced Husain Khan to agree.'

/nazu appe hañjū pūjh satye/N259

'Nazu wiped away her tears.'

7.4 VERBAL SEQUENCES

Reiteration, common in nominal phrases (6.5), does not characterize main verbal phrases, except in one specialized type:

/nazu di hañj rukap vīc na ai te na ai/N116

'Nazu's tears came nowhere near stopping.' (lit. 'did not come and did not come in stopping')

This type is also the only regular instance of linkage by conjunctions within a main verbal phrase. Whereas parallel nominal phrases are normally so linked (6.6), main verbal phrases within a sentence, having the same subject, are normally patterned in sequences in which the second verb only is freely conjugated. The first verb is used in the catenative, connective or catenative ptc., the choice depending on the closeness of the connexion between the actions denoted by the two verbs.

7.4.1 Catenative sequences

These are characterized by the same formal arrangement of catenative ptc. + conjugated verb as intensive catenative compounds (7.3.2). But in sequences both elements preserve their meaning, the first verb denoting an action prior in time to that denoted by the second, but subordinated to the latter. The second element is not restricted to any list, and may include verbs specified as reinforcers. In sequences these will retain their meaning:

/kītabā vī ghin dītōnis/A8

'He bought books too, and gave them to him.'

A few catenative sequences are so common that they may be regarded as 'sequential compounds', thus /ghin a-/ 'take and come' > 'bring'.

While reiteration is not used in inflected main verbal phrases, it is quite common in the first element of catenative sequences to

7.4.1

imply a repeated action:

/mã vi kai dafa piṭ piṭ thaki ā/N105

'I too have exhausted myself
lamenting this over and over
again.'
(lit. 'often lamenting lamenting
am tired')

7.4.2 Connective sequences

In these sequences the first element is the connective ptc. of a tr. verb (4. 11. 3), which denotes an action more closely connected in time with that of the second verb than do catenative sequences:

/gamaṇ kane puchi avē/N51

'Ask Gaman (while you're with him, then) come.'

/e ṭa te ghiu ghar cai vañho/A30

'Pick up this flour and ghee and go home (with it).'

/kharṇ putr, ca tā piti vañ/N279

'Stop, my boy, (at least) have some tea (here) then go.'

The use of a catenative sequence implies a different sequence of actions:

/ca pi vañ/

'(Come and) have some tea (then) go.'

/ca pi avē/

'(Go and) have some tea (then) come.'

A connective sequence may also contrast with a catenative sequence in implying a more definite affirmation of the action

/mā dape ghin asā/

'I'll bring the wheat (some time).'

/mā dape ghidī asā/

'I'll bring the wheat (and come with it immediately).'

The connective ptc. is not reiterated in sequences. Not found in U or in some varieties of P, the connective ptc. is also used to form modal compounds distinctive of Siraiki (7. 6).

7.4.3 Conjunctive sequences

The first element in these sequences is a conjunctive ptc., formally a catenative ptc. + /C kar ~ ke ~ S te/ (4. 9. 2). Conjunctive

sequences imply a still more definite separation between the two actions than do catenative sequences:

/kadīrbaxš vi bhīra de gal lag te runa/N101

'Qadīrbakhsh too embraced his brother and wept.'

The relative looseness of the connexion between the elements in conjunctive sequences allows them to be very frequently interrupted by intervening elements dependent on the second verb only, in contrast to catenative and connective sequences, in which such interruptions are much less frequent:

/mā vān te kard bhijvēdi ā/N163

'I am going and getting the card sent.'

Such sentences can be regarded as representing only a slightly closer connexion between two actions than two separate sentences, i.e. /mā vādi ā/ 'I am going' + /mā kard bhijvēdi ā/ 'I am getting the card sent'.

Reiteration of the first element to imply repetition of the action is quite frequent, as in catenative sequences:

/ḡaktār ʔozar ca ca te bahar vādyā hoyā akhya/N228

'The doctor picked up (each of) his instruments (in turn) and said as he went out.'

The emphatic conjunctive ptc. implies a shorter interval of time between the two actions, but is seldom used:

/e galh suṇ karahī kalark ukū ṭīkaṭ de dīti/

'Once he had heard this the clerk gave him a ticket.'

Other uses of the conjunctive ptc. are considered below (7.5, 7.12.a).

7.5 CONJUNCTIVE COMPOUNDS

The conjunctive ptc. is also used as the first element in one modal compound:

conjunctive ptc. + /rahsi/ 'will certainly do'

This compound represents another specialized use of /raḥh/-

'remain', and is used only in the future:

/o nazu kū gharū kaḍh te raḥsi/N267

'She will certainly get Nazu out of the house.'

7.6 CONNECTIVE COMPOUNDS

The connective ptc. of tr. verbs is used in two classes of modal compound:

a) connective ptc. + /rah- ~ rakh- ~ vañ-/ 'keep on doing'

These modal compounds have a strongly continuous sense, and are freely used in any tense. The commonest modifier is /rakh-/ 'put', which is used in no other modal compounds:

/jivē inhā hathā bahū arsa ū kū sambhali rakhya hove/N288

'As if these hands had long been looking after her.'

/ḡulam nabi moṭar bhajai vēda ha/A72

'Ghulam Nabi kept the car racing along.'

b) connective ptc. + /bæṭha ~ khaṛa ~ pea ~ vada/+ aux.

'(happen to) be doing'

These compounds are less forceful in their implication of continuous action than the foregoing type. Compounds with /bæṭha/ 'sat' and /khaṛa/ 'stood' may have a sense of sitting and standing while performing the action, but not necessarily; there is no special additional sense in compounds with /pea/ 'lain'. Compounds with /vada/ imply a sense of casual action:

/sanduk da jandra troṛi bæṭha ha/V31

'He was (sitting) breaking the lock of the chest.'

/budhṛa raṛh radhi khaṛa ha/A2

'The old man was (up) sowing the crop.'

/kaṛṛa taṇi pai hai/A35

'She was weaving cloth.'

/avaṇ di tiari o ivē vi kiti vada ha/N54

'He was in fact preparing to come.'

/vada/ is an isolated form, though apparently connected with /vat-/ 'wander'. In addition to its use in these and other compounds, /vada/ may also be used alone with the aux., in various senses:

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| /Aj mā pite mutū vādā/ | 'Well, actually I haven't had anything to drink to-day.' (lit. 'to-day I am wandering without drinking') |
| /Amā takri vadi e/A28 | 'Mother's quite strong for her age.' (lit. 'mother goes about quite strong') |

7.7 PARTICIPIAL COMPOUNDS

Both present and past participles, regularly inflected for gender and number, are frequently employed to form verbal compounds, in which the other element is a conjugated verb. In most types it is this conjugated verb which acts as modifier, but some compounds have participial modifiers (7.7.3). Unlike the modal compounds so far considered, in which the modifier is the final element in the verbal phrase, there is no fixed order of elements in participial compounds.

7.7.1 Compounds with present participle

- a) pr. ptc. + /bætha ~ kharā ~ pea ~ vada/ + aux. 'be doing'

These are the commonest of all compounds with a continuous sense. Compounds with /pea/ are particularly frequent:

- /o kam karēda pæ/ 'He is working.'

This is equivalent in meaning and frequency of usage to the U continuous form /voh kam kər rəha hæ/(7.3.1.d).

As in connective compounds involving the same modifiers (7.6.b), these often have no special sense:

- /tusā ūda nā tā nrvhe ahde bæthe/N61

'You are not mentioning his name.'

- /mūh jerha paghar kane trīmda kharā ha/N145

'His face, which was dripping with sweat.'

- /sade bal tā barfā pakhyā de baḡær vi jīde vadīn/N48

'Our children are living (well enough) even without ice or fans.'

The basic meanings of the modifiers may often be made more prominent by a reversal of the elements, or by the juxtaposition of contrasting modifiers:

/o ghilā baṭhi khādi hai/N16 'She was (sitting) dozing.'

/hik bhira luṭīda pe, hik bhira luṭēda khare/A78

'One brother is (lying down)
being robbed, the other brother
is (up) robbing.'

But to be really prominent the latent meaning must be further reinforced:

/xudabašk jamu de muṇḍh nal khar te
sara kujh dedha khara ha/A70

'Khudabakhsh, standing by the foot
of the jamoo-tree, was (standing)
watching it all.'

b) pr.ptc. + /vañ-/ 'be doing'

There is a slightly greater stress on the continuity of the action than is present in the foregoing type, and compounds may be freely conjugated in all tenses:

/akhī nindr kane ghuṭīda geā/N153

'His eyes were being overcome
by sleep.'

/vakt tezi nal bhajda vāda ha/N78

'Time was swiftly racing past.'

When /vañ-/ is itself used in the pr.ptc. the order of elements is freely reversed:

/farhat šer vādi bandi hai/N68

'Farhat was becoming (as
ferocious as) a tiger.'

c) pr.ptc. + /rah-/ 'keep on doing'

/ḍakṭar ghar bar de hal haval puchda reha/N169

'The doctor kept on asking him
how things were at home.'

The distinction in meaning from connective compounds + /raḥ- ~ rah- ~ vañ-/ (7.6. a) is at best a fine one, but may involve less

emphasis on the immediate continuity of the action:

/paṛhi rakh ~ paṛhi rāh/ ' (Don't stop now) go on reading.'

/paṛhda rāh/ 'Keep reading (over a period).'

d) pr. ptc. + /thi-/ 'hurry and do'

This is much less common than the foregoing types:

/akhtar piu do tar bhej diti jo tusā jaldi pujde thivo/N320

'Akhtar sent his father a telegram, saying 'hurry and come here quickly!'

7.7.2 Compounds with past participle

In these compounds the ptc. normally precedes its modifiers.

a) past ptc. + /bæṭha ~ khara ~ pea ~ vada/ + aux.

'(happen to) be doing'

Only the ptc. of intr. verbs is used in these compounds, which correspond in meaning to those formed with the connective ptc. of tr. verbs and the same modifiers (7.6.b):

/nindr kane mariam diā apnā akhī vi nuṭiā bæṭhīā han/N13

'Mariam's own eyes were also closing in sleep.'

/raṛhī nīsrīā kharīā han/A5 'The crops were being harvested.'

/šæt bukh lagi pai is/N44 'Maybe she is feeling hungry.'

/nazu di tabiat xarab thai vadi e/N270

'Nazu's health has been getting worse (for some reason).'

b) past ptc. (intr.) + /vañ-/ 'do'

The use of these compounds is very restricted. They have a weak reinforcing sense:

/naraz thae vādeve/N18 'You're getting cross!'

/māe calya vādā/N195 'I'm going.'

Only /calya vañ- ~ ṭurya vañ-/ 'go (off)' are at all frequent.

c) past ptc. (tr.) + /vañ-/ 'be done'

This is a periphrastic passive compound of the type standard

in U P:

/e parsal tækū nhī dīta vāñ sagda/

'This parcel cannot be given to you.'

It exists in Siraiiki as an alternative to the preferred passive stem, without significant difference in meaning:

/je marij geum ~ je marya geum/

'If I am killed.'

d) past ptc. + /kar-/ 'keep doing'

These compounds are hardly to be distinguished in meaning from those formed with pr.ptc. + /rah-/ (7.7.1.c), but are most frequently employed in the imperative, less often the future. Unlike the superficially similar U P type /jaya karo/ incorporating an invariable m.sg.past ptc. ('gerund'), the ptc. of an intr.verb inflects for gender and number, in agreement with the subject:

/ghar a gya kar/A8

'Keep coming home!'

/lusā rñe nā karo/N285

'Don't keep crying!'

The ptc. of a tr.verb agrees with its object:

/bholiā galhī nā kitīā kar/N92

'Don't keep saying such silly things!'

Only if there is no object must the ptc. always be m.sg.:

/likhya karo/

'Keep writing!'

7.7.3 Compounds with participial modifier

In these compounds the modifier is again one of the common participial set /bāṭha ~ kharā ~ pea ~ vada/, although here only /pea/ is at all frequent. The compounds are distinguished from previous types by the fact that the other element is a finite verbal form.

a) future + /pea/ 'will be doing (right away)'

This is in effect a future continuous corresponding to compounds formed with pr.ptc. + /pea/ + aux. (7.7.1.a), but there is also a sense of immediacy as to the future action:

/o bahū jaldi śahar vāsi pai/N65

'She will be going to the city very soon.'

/sær te vi julsū pæ/N188

'We shall be going for a walk too
(right away).'b) imperative + /pæ/ 'go on and do (then)'

A continuous sense may be implied:

/bišak ro pya/

'Go on crying then!'

But the sense of the compound is often simply to weaken the immediacy of the command, especially in conjunction with the already less definite aorist imperative:

/šam kū vañāhe pæ/N53

'(Why don't you) go in the evening
then?'

7.8 INFINITIVE COMPOUNDS

The infinitive (4.8.1) is used as the first member of several modal compounds.

a) inf. + /de-/ 'allow to, let'

These compounds, representing a specialized use of /de-/ 'give', are freely conjugated:

/piu ma vi vala mækū kalij vic daxil kæn thivān desin/V35

'My parents too will not allow me
to enter college again.'/tū ejhe xial dīl vic nā avān dīte kār/N117

'Don't keep letting such thoughts
enter your heart!'b) inf. + /lag- ~ po-/ 'begin to'

These specialized uses of /lag-/ 'be attached, seem' and /po-/ 'lie' are in free variation:

/hār hik alah saī kanū mædi sehat di dua māṅaṅ laga/V35

'Everyone began to pray to God
for my recovery.'/agū vaḍhaṅ pya/N157

'He started to move forward.'

The intensive catenative compounds /lag po- ~ pæ vañ-/ are equally common:

/bal rovaṅ lag pōdæ/N45

'The child begins to cry.'

/o har kahī kū piari lagan pa gai hai/N56

'She had begun to seem attractive to everyone.'

The nominal conjuncts /šuru kar-/(tr.) and /šuru thi-/(intr.) are used in the same way:

/ūde xīalat badlan šuru thi gæ/N157

'His thoughts began to change.'

c) inf. + /cah-/ 'want to'

This is not very common, and is probably a loan from U P:

/najma muhabbat de andhe khuh vic

trap na maran cāhdi hai/N178

'Najma did not want to jump blindly into the well of love.'

The gerundive (4.8.2) may replace the inf. in this compound. Other uses of the gerundive, which does not normally form compounds, are discussed below (7.11.1).

d) abl. inf. + /khar-/ 'stop'

/mīh vasnū khar gya/N200 'It stopped raining.'

e) inf. + /da ~ kite/ + /akh-/ 'tell to'

These and the following compounds are distinguished from the use of the inf. +ppn. in adverbial phrases (7.12.c) only by their frequent idiomatic use. /da/ always remains uninflected:

/mā ukū aj avan da akhya ha ~ avan kite akhya ha/

'I told him to come to-day.'

f) inf. + /di/ + /kar-/ 'hurry to'

This is equivalent in meaning to compounds formed with pr. ptc. + /thi-/(7.7.1.d):

/ī palit lothre kū mā kaḍhan di karā/N42

'Let me hurry up and get rid of this unclean carcass.'

A similar sense is found in other contexts without /kar-/:

/tuhakū tā khuh te vañan di pai hui e/N20

'You are in a hurry to go to the well!'

These compounds are usually explained as having arisen from older inf. +/di [jaldi] kar-/ 'hurry to'.

g) inf. +/ic ~ vic/+ /na a-/ 'show no signs of'

These compounds, with the literal meaning of 'not to come in' are used in the negative only:

/tufan lahaŋ vic na pya āda ha/N216

'The storm was showing no signs of abating.'

7.9 DOUBLET COMPOUNDS

Verbal doublet compounds resemble nominal doublet compounds (6.7.3) both in their principal types of formation and in their sense, which implies a vague expansion of the meaning of the first element. While verbal doublets are quite widely used, especially in colloquial speech, most types can be formed only for the catenative, conjunctive, present and past participles: these four are also the only verbal forms to be capable of reiteration (7.4.1, 3; 7.12). Types of verbal doublet compound are:

a) alliterative doublets

These are not common, and the second element is usually a close synonym of the first:

/dho-/ 'wash' + /dhā-/ 'bathe' >
/o dhota dhāta bæthæ/ 'He's scrubbed and clean.'

b) rhyming doublets

This is far the most common type. The second element may be a close synonym of the first:

/gol-/ 'search' + /pharol-/ 'search' >
/lavzā kū gol pharol te/Niv
'having sought out the words'

But usually the second element is a meaningless rhyme of the first:

/visam-/ 'be numb' >
/nazu visim trisim gai/N184
'Nazu became utterly numb.'

/ujar-/ 'destroy' >

/made can te skun de gulšan kū ujar pujar dītae/N221

'It has quite ruined the garden of
my peace and repose.'

c) synonymous doublets

A few pairs of synonyms in active use are commonly used together, although there is no phonetic resemblance:

/bol-/ 'speak' + /ʌla-/ 'speak'

/ʌsli siræki ovha e jo rohi de vasi lok bolēdin ʌlēdin/Axi

'The real Siraiki is that which the
desert folk speak.'

The conjugation of both elements in a main verbal phrases is possible only in this type of doublet.

More commonly the second member of such doublets is an historical synonym no longer in active use alone:

/khl-/ 'laugh' + /[has-]/ 'laugh' >

/khl has ke/ 'laughing'

d) /-'a/ doublets

In these doublets, to which there is no corresponding nominal pattern, the second element adds /-'a/ to the first:

/bac-/ 'escape' > /bacda bacāda/ 'escaping'

/luk-/ 'hide' > /lukda lukāda/ 'hiding'

The forms in /-'a/ are distinguished in the pr. ptc. from the corresponding causatives which have /-'ēda/, thus /bacēda/ 'causing to escape.'

A sense of completion is sometimes found in the these doublets, especially in a past sense:

/baṇi baṇai zimin kanū marhum ræh gya/A15

'He remained deprived of the
ready-prepared land.'

/zaxam chut chuta gæ/N123

'Her wounds healed up (com-
pletely).'

7.10 SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES: NOMINAL

Simple phrases of this type consist of a non-finite form of a verb used as a noun, and behave exactly as simple nominal

phrases (6.1). In complex phrases the main element may have distinctively verbal modifiers, such as negative adverbs, or distinctively verbal dependencies, such as the use of subordinate nominal phrases as objects with tr. verbs (8.2), instead of or in addition to the usual modifiers of nouns (6.2).

Four verbal forms are used as the main element in such phrases:

a) infinitive

As the 'verbal noun', this is much the most frequent element in phrases of this type:

/mæde kite ghar di cardivari kanū niklaŋ muškal thi gæ/V36

'It has become difficult for me
to emerge from the confines of
the house.'

/g̃ulam nabi huŋ ghar da avan ghaṭ kar d̄it̄us/A26

'Ghulam Nabi now made less of
(a habit of) coming home.'

b) verbal agent (4.8.1)

This derivative of the inf. is also quite commonly used as a noun, although usually without extended modifiers:

/xuda akhī d̄it̄æn, dekhāŋ ale baŋo/

'God has given you eyes to see
with.' (lit. 'become see-ers')

c) present ptc.

This is used as a noun only in a few set forms, which do not have verbal modifiers, e.g., /val-/ 'return' > /valda/ 'answer'.

d) past ptc.

This is more frequently used as a noun than the pr. ptc., but again without verbal modifiers:

/tū ahdē, tā tæda akhya man ghindā/N141

'If you say so, then I agree with
what you say.'

/kahī kū hila na, te hīye di hel na vañā/

'Don't get anyone addicted, and
don't try to break an addict's
addiction.'

7.11 SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES: ADJECTIVAL

These are more frequent and varied than the formally analogous type of nominal phrases. The main element functions as an adjective, either as a modifier of a noun in a complex nominal phrase, or predicatively as a complement (8.2.4). The same verbal forms as those listed above are used as the main element in such phrases, in addition to the gerundive, which requires separate consideration:

a) inf. + /da/

This may be used as a modifier, like nominal phrases + adjectival ppn. (6.2.e), while itself having distinctively verbal dependencies:

/unhā kū mækū badnam karān da caña maoka hath a gya/V35

'They found a good opportunity
of defaming me.'

A common idiom involves the predicative use of inf. + /da/:

/mæ tā ikū bhira na sadān da/A78

'I'm not prepared to call him
'brother'.'

b) verbal agent

This could be analysed as a specialized type of nominal phrase + adjectival ppn., i.e., as inf. + /vala/, analogous with inf. + /da/. Used as a modifier the verbal agent sometimes has a gerundive sense:

/paṛhan vali kitab/

'a book worth reading'

When used with verbal dependencies it may correspond to the trans-form of a relative clause:

/tamaša dekhān ale ḡuṇḍya kū e ṭhik na laga/

'This did not seem right to the
ruffians watching the spectacle.'

But its most frequent use is predicative, as a future ptc.:

/ajkal māda imtihan thivān vala he/N112

'My exam is about to take place
now.'

c) present ptc.

This is most commonly used predicatively:

/unha ku khedda dekh te/N65 'having seen them playing'

d) past ptc.

This too is most commonly used predicatively:

/Akhtar kũ aya dekh te/N356 'having seen that Akhtar had
come'

The predicative use of the perfective ptc. (4.11.2) with the aux. is particularly common:

/ũdi šadi thai hui e/N73 'Has his marriage taken place?'

/phul thi r̥r̥ya hoyā ha/ 'The flower was in full bloom.'

7.11.1 Gerundive phrases

The gerundive (4.8.2) is a verbal adjective normally carefully distinguished from the inf. As a modifier the ger. has an adjectival sense, but is restricted to a few set items:

/ni mak khav̥ṇa naokar/ 'faithful (lit. salt-eating')
servant'

/khi ni nā has ni nā yadā/N114 'happy memories'

(Only synonymous doublets (7.9.c) would be employed in this way.)

The ger. is, however, most commonly used predicatively, in several types of phrase. Some of these are so frequent that they might be considered modal compounds, were it not for the special rules of concord which they entail (8.3.3-4). These make it more satisfactory to treat them separately:

a) ger. + aux. 'must do, is to do'

The logical subject is always obl.:

/tusā ḍakt̥ar s̥ahib kũ mi l̥ṇæ/N135

'You must meet the doctor.'

/gadi rat de aḍhai vaje ravalp̥in̥di puj̥ṇa ha/N120

'The train was to reach
Rawalpindi at 2.30 a.m.'

/par bal na b̥eh̥ir av̥ṇa ha, te na aya/N99

'But the child was not going to
come out, and didn't.'

Especially with the neg./nhī ~ nī/, the ger. is sometimes used alone as a forceful command:

/nhī vañ̥ṇa/ 'Don't go!'

b) ger. + /'cahida/ + aux. 'ought to do'

The logical subject is always obl. + /kū/:

/takū avṇa cahida ha/ 'You ought to have gone.'

This is much less frequent: /'cahida/, inflected as a black adjective, is probably a loan from P. vs. the regular passive pr. ptc. /ca'hida/' 'wanted' < /cah-/ 'want'.

c) ger. + /po-/ 'have to do'

The logical subject again has /kū/:

/ī niki kū takū palṇa posi/N12 'You will have to bring up this little girl.'

These phrases are quite common, and quite different in meaning from modal compounds of inf. + /po-/ (7.8. b).

d) ger. + aux. 'no sooner than'

In these phrases, unlike the more frequent type a), the subject is dir.:

/mædi bimari di xabar ghar paōhṇi hai/V35

'No sooner had the news of my illness reached home than...'

The inf. may also be used in the same sense, but then the subject is obl. + /da/:

/ī murat da chapṇa ha/V59 'No sooner had this picture been printed than...'

e) ger. + /de-/ 'give to be done'

This is in contrast to the specialized use of /de-/ as 'let' in modal compounds with the inf. (7.8. a):

/dhobi kū ṭai dhovṇi de/ 'Give the tie to the washerman to be washed.'

/dhobi kū ṭai dhovṇ de/ 'Let the washerman wash the tie.'

Occasionally the ger. is used in a similar sense before other verbs:

/ukū ṭarna rakh te/N6 'having put it down to cool'

7.12 SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES: ADVERBIAL

These phrases modify main verbal phrases only, not adjectives. Main elements, which may have verbal modifiers, are similar to

those in other types of subordinate verbal phrase:

a) conjunctive ptc.

The conjunctive ptc. is quite frequently used adverbially, although there is no formal distinction from its use in conjunctive sequences (7.4.3):

/ūdiā akhī ū galh kū khol te bian kar dīta/N161

'Her eyes openly explained that (thing).'

b) inf.

This is mostly used with verbs of movement, implying purpose:

/mædi hik muler mækū hoṣṭal ic mīlaṇ ai/35

'A cousin of mine came to see me in the hostel.'

/ukū thapaṇ bāh gāi/N57

'She sat down to stroke her.'

But the ger. is used in this sense with /de-/ (7.11.1.e).

The inf., although uninflected, is to be regarded as obl., parallel with inflected obl. nouns in such sentences as /o laie gea/ 'He went to Leah.'

c) inf. + ppn.

The meaning of the phrase is determined by the ppn. Two of the commonest are:

/valdæṇ de mīlaṇ nal mædi

halat kujh thiḥ thi gāi/V35

'As soon as my parents came to see me (also 'because they came'), I got a little better.'

/lahāṇ seti tar de mutalīk. kadīrbaxš saṇal kita/N326

'As soon as he got off, Qadīrbakhsh asked about the telegram.'

d) present ptc.

Like other adjectives, this is freely used to modify the verb, in concord with the subject:

/o rōdi vṭhi/

'She got up crying.'

The ptc. is frequently reiterated to stress the duration of the action:

/xat līkhda līkhda mæ thak gya/

'I got tired writing letters.'

/khāda khāda o ḡhæ pya/

'While eating he fell down.'

e) pr. adverbial ptc. (4.10.1)

This may be used to imply a more direct causal connexion with the action of the main verb:

/khādyē khādyē o bimar thi gya/

'While eating he fell ill (as a result).'

But the adverbial ptc. is used when there is no subject in dir., without any difference in meaning from the pr. ptc. The adverbial ptc. may be reiterated, or followed by /hoyā ~ hoē/(4.11.2):

/īda pata karedyā der vi kama lagsi/N133

'Nor will it take long to find out about it.'

/pata nī kīa bakdyē bakdyē nindr a geus/A66

'He was overcome by sleep, talking heaven knows what nonsense.'

/gamaṇ marīam nal bāhdyā hoyā akhya/N62

'Gaman, sitting down with Mariam, said.'

The pr. adverbial ptc. is also used idiomatically with the emphatic particles /i vi/ in adverbial phrases with special senses:

/pas thīdyā i o śahar calya gya/

'As soon as he passed he left for town.'

/inhā ala xubrā de hōdē hoē vi/

'in spite of these lofty virtues'

f) past adverbial ptc. (4.11.1)

The past adverbial ptc., which may be followed by the perfective /hoyā ~ hoē/, is used to the exclusion of the past ptc. in adverbial phrases, but is less common than the pr. adverbial ptc.:

/ukū irthā ayā hoyā aj pandrvhā dīh ha/N50

'To-day it was a fortnight since he'd come.'

By far the most frequent use of the ptc. is with the 'pre-post-positions' /baḡar ~ bin ~ mutū/ 'without' (2.7.2.d):

/pru do baḡar dīṭhyā/N104

'without glancing at his father'

/bin soce samjhe/N292

'without thinking'

CHAPTER 8

THE SENTENCE

8.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

A simple sentence must normally contain a main verbal phrase (7. 1), and is thus distinguished from such utterances as interjections (3. 7) or vocative nominal phrases (6. 2. d). Other utterances, such as /kiū/ 'Why?' or /birkul/ 'Quite!', are to be regarded as abbreviated simple sentences in which the missing main verbal phrase (symbol: V) could be supplied from the context of the utterance.

Some types of question and command may consist of V only:

| | | |
|---|--------|----------------|
| V | /julū/ | 'Shall we go?' |
| V | /julo/ | 'Go!' |

But most types of simple sentence also contain at least one main nominal phrase (8. 2), which may be of various types: often more than one type occurs within a simple sentence. The types of main nominal phrase used affect the pattern of concord within the sentence (8. 3). Simple sentences may be further expanded by adverbial phrases modifying V (8. 4). Pronominal elements in main nominal phrases and adverbial phrases may also be realized in V as suffixes (8. 5).

Besides the changes of intonation possible in speech (8. 6), the sense of simple sentences may also be modified by changes in the usual order of elements and by the use of the emphatic particles (8. 7).

Simple sentences may be combined to form clauses in compound sentences (8. 8), while the choice of sentence-patterns, whether simple or compound, is determined by the overall style of the utterance (8. 9).

8.2 MAIN NOMINAL PHRASES

Main nominal phrases are defined by their function in the sentence as subjects, direct objects, oblique objects and complements: each type corresponds to certain formal patterns. The choice of possible elements in a given sentence is determined by the main verb in V. The order in which different types are arranged within the sentence is quite well determined in formal speech and writing. All nominal phrases normally precede V.

Subordinate nominal phrases occur either as dependent elements within main nominal phrases when the main element in the latter is a non-finite verbal form (7.10), or as adverbial phrases (8.3).

8.2.1 Subjects

The subject is the element next in frequency and importance to V in the sentence. The subject normally precedes V, and is typically a main nominal phrase whose main element is *dir.* (symbol: S):

S — V /o gea/ 'He went.'

But when the main conjugated element in V is the past ptc. of a tr. verb, the 'ergative construction' (8.3.3) applies and the subject is a main nominal phrase whose main element is *obl.* (symbol: E):

E — V /ū akhya/ 'He said.'

E also occurs to the exclusion of S in sentences involving the use of *ger.* + *aux.* (7.11.1.a):

E — V /mæ vañnæ/ 'I must go.'

The ppn. /nc/ is occasionally used as a marker of E in imitation of U P usage: this is quite frequent in educated colloquial speech but is considered incorrect in careful speech and writing.

8.2.2 Direct objects

The direct object (symbol: D) is a main nominal phrase whose main element is *dir.*, and is thus formally identical with S. D can occur only when the main verb of V is tr., and is normally placed between S/E and V:

S — D — V /ʌsā ʌmb khasū/ 'We shall eat mangoes.'

E — D — V /ʌsā ʌmb khade/ 'We ate mangoes.'

D — V /ʌmb khao/ 'Eat mangoes!'

D normally corresponds to the English 'direct object': but nominal conjunct verbs (7.2) in which the pre-verbal is a noun and the verb is tr. may be regarded as special cases of D — V, in which the main element of V is predictable from that of D:

E — D — V /chohar javab dīta/ 'The boy answered (*lit.* 'gave an answer')

More than one D can occur in a sentence if this analysis of tr. nominal conjunct verbs is adopted:

S — D — D — V /mulazīm khavañ pivāñ da saman ... taksim
vade karēde hañ/N166

'The servants were dividing the food and drink.'

Normally, however, only one D occurs as a main element in a sentence, although a main nominal phrase whose main element is a non-finite verbal form may have a D subordinate to it.

8.2.3 Oblique objects

The oblique object is a main nominal phrase whose principal element is typically obl. + /kū/, or a pronoun in d-ac., ending in /-kū/. The oblique object (symbol: O) is much more varied in function than D. While /kū/ may be glossed as 'to', it seldom corresponds to English 'to' as a marker of O.

a) O with tr. verbs

When the main element of V is a tr. verb, O in the pattern S/E — D — V usually corresponds to the English 'direct object':

S — O — V /o bhira te ma kū bhul gya/A31

'He forgot his brother and mother.'

Some tr. verbs prefer O as 'direct object', others D. The choice of D or O is also determined by the nature of the object, animates, especially names, usually appearing as O. When pronouns refer to animates, O is regularly used to the exclusion of D:

E — O — V /chohır ikū dītha/ 'The girl saw him.'

E — D — V /chohır e dītha/ 'The girl saw this.'

A few common tr. verbs regularly mark O with /kanū ~ kolū/, lit. 'from':

E — O — V /xɔdabəšk bhira kanū puchya/A4

'Khudabakhsh asked his brother.'

Normally only one O occurs as a main element in a sentence, although a main nominal phrase whose main element is a non-finite verbal form may have an O subordinate to it.

b) O and D with tr. verbs

Certain tr. verbs may have both O and D. The order of elements will normally be S/E — O — D — V. O here corresponds to the English 'indirect object', D to the 'direct object':

E — O — D — V /xɔdabəšk bhira kū kapre ghin dite/A8

'Khudabakhsh bought and gave his brother clothes.'

Most causatives regularly mark O with /kanū ~ kolū/:

E — O — D — V /ū mæde kolū pañjabi bhulva diti e/

'He has made me forget Panjabi.'

c) O with intr. verbs

When the main verb of V is intr., D cannot occur, and O usually corresponds to the English 'subject':

S O - V /mariam di yad ukū visir gai hai/N108

'He had forgotten the memory of Mariam.'

The order O - S - V is frequent in such cases, reflecting the logical significance of O:

O - S - V /unhakū siræki nhī
adi/

'They do not know Siraiki.'

/ukū ṭæksi mil gai/

'He got a taxi.'

O occurs commonly only with certain intr. verbs, or other intr. verbs used in particular ways, as in the last examples; but compare the use of possessive adverbial phrases with the auxiliary (8.4.1).

8.2.4 Complements

Complements (symbol: C) are main nominal phrases whose main element is dir.: they are thus formally similar to S or D, as well as to some uses of adjectives in adverbial phrases (6.4.b). Unlike S or D, however, they do not determine the concord of V (8.3). Complements occur in three types of sentence:

a) S - C - V

This pattern is normal when the main verb in V is intr., and includes the very common sub-type having aux. as V:

/Amṛi takṛi vadi e/A28

'Mother's quite strong (for her age)'.

/o vakil baṇ gya/

'He became a lawyer.'

/papōš khula te mazbut hōda
ha/J27

'His slippers used to be open and strong.'

C - V may form a single word if V is a short form of pr. aux. (4.15.2):

/chorhī caḥiæn/

'The girls are good.'

b) S/E - O - C - V

This pattern is normal when the main verb in V is tr:

/o mækū pagal pya
baṇēdaæ/N35

'He is making me mad.'

/ū unhakū khedda dītha/

'He saw them playing.'

S/E may be omitted, but the order of elements is undisturbed as
O — C — V:

/mækū moya samjho/A49 'Think me dead!'

c) gerundive phrases (7.11.1)

In its two commonest uses the ger. forms C in distinctive patterns:

E — C — V/tæ vāñṇa ha/ 'You should have gone.'

O — C — V/tækū vāñṇa posi/ 'You will have to go.'

In the latter case O represents the logical subject (8.2.3.c)

8.3 CONCORD

Concord is usually determined by S. When there is no S, the concord of V is determined by D. When there is no S or D, V is conventionally m. sg.

8.3.1 S — V concord

This is the most usual pattern and prevails in all sentences other than those having the past ptc. of a tr. verb in V or a gerundive phrase in C:

/(tū) ḍa xīal rakh/ '(You) think of this.'

/Ḍā multan gæ/ 'We went to Multan.'

/mæ tækū hik nusxa paṭhesā/ 'I will send you one copy.'

Where S is a linked nominal phrase (6.6), V will normally be m. pl.; but if both nouns are f., or the last is f. pl., V will normally be f. pl.

8.3.2 Honorific concord

2pl. /tṣā/ is commonly used for sg. subjects of address to denote respect, as opposed to 2sg. /tū/, used to denote intimacy or disrespect. /tṣā/, used as a pronoun of respect to one woman, may have 2pl. mas. verb, as in P.

Third person subjects, whatever their gender or number, may have m. pl. verb to denote respect: adjectival elements in C, which regularly show concord with S in S — C — V, will also be m. pl.:

/o bahū cahe šair han/ 'He was a very good poet.'

Additional respect is conveyed by the use of /ap/ as 3pl. personal pronoun:

/ap behad diler hæn/J28 'He (the saint) was extremely brave.'

8.3.3 D V concord ('ergative construction')

When V has as its main conjugated element the past ptc. of a tr. verb, E occurs to the exclusion of S, and V is in concord with D. This pattern is sometimes termed the 'ergative construction':

/chohir amb khade/ 'The girl ate mangoes.'

/ū tūhakū kitab diti/ 'He gave you a book.'

Tr. verbs may be defined as either verbs which imply E when used in the past ptc., or verbs which imply an object, whether D or O. The correspondence between these classes is almost complete, but for a few verbs:

a) verbs having E, but not D/O

These include /hahg-/ 'defecate' and /mūtr-/ 'urinate':

E - V /ū mutrya/ 'He urinated.'

b) verbs having S and O

These include /bhul-/ 'forget' and /mīl-/ 'meet':

S - O - V /tusā unhā kū mīlye have/ N214
'Did you meet him?'

Verbs regularly having S and D are less common, but /lahgh-/ 'pass through' may be so used:

S - D - V /nazu kamre da darvaza laŋghi/ N109
'Nazu passed through the door of the room.'

c) verbs having S vs. E - D

These include /la- bol-/ 'speak', /gā-/ 'sing' and /samajh-/ 'understand', all of which have E with D, otherwise S, when used in the past ptc.:

S - V /o gāvya/ 'He sang.'

E - D - V /ū bahū sare gāvan
gāvyē/ 'He sang lots of songs.'

/la-/ 'speak' is exceptional in that the irregular past ptc. /laṇa/ is used only with S, the regular /lāya/ only with E.

When the verb in gerundive phrases is tr. and has D, both the ger. and V are in concord with this subordinate D:

E - D --- ger. - V /ū kitab likhni hai/
'He was to write a book.'

O - D --- ger. - V /ukū bahū sare xat likhne posin/
'He will have to write lots of letters.'

8.3.4 Absence of concord

There is no concord in sentences which have E but no O, and the main verb in V is mas. sg.:

E — V /ʌsā akhya/ 'We said.'

E — C — V /ʌsā vāñnæ/ 'We must go.'

There is no concord between O and C or V, which will both be mas. sg.:

E — O — C — V /ʌsā ukū khedda dītha/ 'We saw her playing.'

E — O---ger. — V /ʌsā ukū mīlnæ/ 'We must meet her.'

O- -O- -ger. — V /ī niki kū tākū palṇa posi/N12 'You will have to bring up this little girl.'

More than one O can occur only in sentences of the last type.

8.4 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Adverbial phrases are of very varied formal types (6.4; 7.12), and of extremely frequent occurrence. More than one adverbial phrase (symbol: A) is commonly employed in a single sentence, and the most usual position for such phrases is before V:

E — O---A---A — V /gaman pakhe kū tikhe tikhe bhuvēdyā hoyā akhya/N59

'Rapidly waving the waving the fan, Gaman said.'

Interrogative adverbs and adverbial phrases regularly occur before V (8.6.2).

It is, however, impossible to establish a simple set of rules for the ordering of adverbial phrases in a sentence, although it may be observed that temporal adverbial phrases usually precede those denoting place or manner:

A — S — A---A — A — V /thore thore vakhe de bad xəovnak cik fəzā vic gūjan de bad rat de andhare vic ġæb thi vædi/N99

'At short intervals, a terrible cry, after echoing in the atmosphere, would disappear into the darkness of the night.'

8.4.1 Possessive adverbial phrases

These are a special type of adverbial phrase, in which the main element is a noun or pronoun followed by /kū/ or /kol ~ kolū/. When used with an aux. as V, these phrases, which often precede all other elements, indicate possession:

A - S - V /ʌnhakū chuṭi hosi/ 'He will have a holiday.'

/daktar kū koi pata
kænhī/ 'The doctor has no idea.'

S - A - V /ʌda jʌvab mæ kol
kænhī/N297 'I have no answer to that.'

Possession may also be indicated by the aux. and possessive modifiers with S:

S - V /tʰade kitle bhira
in/ 'How many brothers have you?'

8.5 MAIN VERBAL PHRASES + SUFFIXES

All the sentence types so far described require only minor modifications to conform with P rules, and but slightly more adjustments to agree with U: but the use of a verb + suf. in a main verbal phrase is a possibility not open in standard P or U, although it is also available in western varieties of P, in the Northern Lahnda dialects and in Si.

In all varieties of Siraiiki verbs + suf. may equally, if less idiomatically, be expressed by the use of verbs without suf. and of pronouns elsewhere in the sentence: in the modern educated language the latter alternative is in fact often preferred, doubtless by analogy with U P. Verbs + suf. can therefore be regarded as a transformational alternative to the use of the corresponding simple verbs and separate pronouns.

Transformational possibilities are governed by the rule that a verb + suf. may be used as an alternative only to sentences in which S, E or O is a personal or demonstrative pronoun, or in which a main nominal phrase is modified by a possessive pronoun, or in which a personal or demonstrative pronoun is used in a possessive adverbial phrase (8.4.1). Suffixes, including those of the third person, normally relate to persons or animates: pronouns as D are therefore not transformed into suf. (8.2.3.a). The use of verb + suf. is also limited by the available repertoire, as listed in Chapter 5, and by the preference for the use of some sets more than others.

In the following summary of possible transformations, a main verbal phrase having as its main element a verb + suf. is symbolized as VS, one with verb + double suf. as VSS.

8.5.1 S - V > VS

This transformation is possible only for the restricted dir. suf. (5.3), and is common only when the verb is intr. and past tense. S is used optionally with VS:

| | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| S - A - V > | /ʌsā multan gæ/ > |
| (S) - A - VS | /ʌsā multan gyoʃe/ |
| | 'We went to Multan.' |

Rarely VS may consist of conditional II + suf.:

| | |
|---------|--------------------------|
| S - V > | /mæ ap na ādi/ > |
| S - VS | /mæ ap na ādum/N47 |
| | 'Had I not come myself.' |

8.5.2 E - V > VS

This transformation is extremely frequent. E is not normally separately expressed with VS, since E = VS represents an alternative to E - O - V (8.5.3):

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| E - V > | /ʌsā akhya/ > |
| VS | /ʌkhyoʃe/ 'We said.' |
| E - D - V > | /tū curā patæ/ > |
| D - VS | /cura patai/V104 |
| | 'Are you wearing a bracelet?' |
| E - O - V > | /ū saryā kū cata/ > |
| O - VS | /saryā kū catuʃ/N95 |
| | 'He lifted them all up.' |
| E - O - D - V > | /ū piu kū sare hal suṇaya/ > |
| O - D - VS | /piu kū sare hal suṇyonis/A61 |
| | 'He told his father all that had happened.' |

While most commonly used with a tr. past ptc., E - V > VS may also occur in association with gerundive phrases:

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| E - A---C - V > | /ū kɪdahī vañṇa ha/ > |
| A---C - VS | /kɪdahī vañṇa haʃ/N3 |
| | 'He had to go somewhere.' |

8.5.3 O - V > VS

While probably less frequent than the preceding, this transformation can occur with a much wider range of verb forms, including the

8.5.3

stem tenses, aux. and the past of both tr. and intr. verbs:

O — A — V > /ukū zor da mar/ >

A — VS /zor da maris/N65

'Hit him hard!'

S — O — V > /mæ tækū dekhsā/ >

O VS /mæ dekhsā/ 'I shall see you.'

O S — V > /ukū ma te bheṇ vi yad a geā/ >

S — VS /ma te bheṇ vi yad a gyonis/N149

'He remembered his mother and sister too.'

The last use is the commonest, and may be compared with the frequent realization of possessive adverbial phrases as verb + suf. (8.5.5).

8.5.4 E — O — V > VSS

Possible forms are restricted and not very much used:

E — O — V > /mæ ukū dītha/ >

VSS /dīthomis/ 'I saw him.'

E — O — D — V > /mæ ukū kītab dīti/ >

D — VSS /kītab dītomis/

'I gave him a book.'

8.5.5 Possessive pronouns and phrases > VS

Pronouns in possessive adverbial phrases are very frequently realized as aux. + suf. in VS:

A — S — V > /tækū pata kənhī/ >

S — VS /pata kənvhi/N190

'Haven't you any idea?'

A possessive pronoun as modifier in a main nominal phrase, especially in S, frequently gives rise to VS:

pos. ---S — V > /ūdrā duhē dhiā aīā han/ >

S — VS /duhē dhiā aīā hanis/N241

'Have both his daughters come?'

pos. ---S — V > /ūda dīl karēda ha/ >

S — VS /dīl karēda has/N185

'She wanted,' (lit. 'her heart made')

The realization of possessive pronominal modifiers of other phrases is less common, but possible:

E — pos. ---O — V > /mæ ūda khir pitæ/ >

O — VSS /khir pitæmis/

'I have drunk his milk.'

8.6 INTONATION

Patterns of intonation vary dialectally, and intonational parameters characterize dialect speakers as effectively as shibboleths of morphology or vocabulary. Thus S, especially in Bahawalpur, is distinguished by rather level patterns of intonation and rapid utterance, corresponding phonologically to the frequent reduction of C unaccented diphthongs to simple vowels in many verbal terminations (1.4, 4.15.2): but the intonation of the trans-Indus area, especially parts of Dera Ghazi Khan, is characterized by marked contours, producing a sing-song effect. The intonation of C, intermediate between these two in quality, is here taken as a standard.

The description of intonation patterns is deliberately restricted to a simple numerical scheme indicating levels of pitch, since its imprecision permits general statements valid for varieties other than C, i.e., the same kinds of relationship between pitch levels will hold good in these also in given contexts, although the degree to which these levels are acoustically realized will differ.

A tonic syllable is distinguished from its neighbours primarily by length (1.10). Prominence in a sentence is conveyed primarily by a raising of the pitch of a word, most noticeably of its tonic syllable, which is further increased in length only in emphatic contexts (8.7).

8.6.1 Statements

In simple statements, the tonic syllable of the main element in one phrase will be raised in pitch to a higher level than that of surrounding elements, and the tonic syllable of the main element in at least one phrase of secondary prominence will also be raised, but to a less high level. These levels are symbolized as '2' and '1' respectively: they contrast both with each other hierarchically and together against other elements to which no prominence is given. It is typically the first element to which greatest prominence is given:

2

1

/ʌsā roṭi khadi e/

'We have had a meal.'

This first element will most usually be the subject: elements at the end of most simple statements receive less prominence, hence the

typical contractions of the auxiliary at the end of verbal phrases (4.15.2).

Pitch levels can be alternated between elements to conform with the semantic requirements of the context, thus:

1 2
/ʌsā roṭi khadi e/ 'We have had a meal.'

1 2
/ʌsā roṭi khadi e/ 'We have had a meal.'

The sense yielded by these changes in the intonation pattern correspond to a weak emphasis on the words underlined in the English translations. Stronger emphasis is conveyed in other ways (8.7).

8.6.2 Questions

Questions containing interrogative words and phrases are distinguished in intonation from statements by the higher pitch, symbolized as '3', which is automatically attached to the tonic syllable of the interrogative, the most prominent element in such sentences. The interrogative phrase typically precedes the main verbal phrase:

1 3 2
/tusā roṭi keṛhe vele khadi hai/ 'When did you have a meal?'

Questions without an interrogative word are distinguished from statements only by intonation, typically by an up-glide to the tonic syllable of the main element in the final verbal phrase:

2 1 / 3
/ʌhməd kām karēda pæ/ 'Is Ahmad working?'

2 1
/ʌhməd kām karēda pæ/ 'Ahmad is working.'

/kia/ is sometimes employed as an introductory question-marker, but this is probably an imitation of U usage. Questions without an interrogative are, however, distinguished from statements by the very frequent omission of a subject pronoun, thus:

/ 3
/vañ cukye/ 'Has he already gone?'

2 1
/o vañ cukye/ 'He has already gone.'

more prominence to elements moved forward from their 'normal' position, less to those moved back. While the order of phrases is therefore quite fluid in informal styles, the order of words within phrases remains relatively fixed. Thus a simple statement in 'normal' order without emphasis will be patterned as:

2 1 1

/mæ tæde ghar val na asā/ 'I won't come to your house again.'

/val/ 'again' may be emphasized by being moved forward:

1 3 2

/mæ val tæde ghar na asā/

The negative /na/ is more strongly emphasized by a greater displacement:

1 3 2

/mæ na val asā tæde ghar/V106

Still stronger emphasis is given to the negator and to the whole verbal phrase by the displacement of the subject:

3 1 2

/val na asā mæ tæde ghar/

Other examples of alterations of word-order are given below (8.7.2; 8.9).

8.7.2 Emphatic particles

The emphatic particles (3.5) are freely used, especially in informal styles, as enclitics giving prominence to the phrase which they follow. Since the tonic syllable of the main element in a phrase so emphasized is automatically raised in pitch, this is not symbolized in the following catalogue of the particles and their uses: it will be noted from many of the sentences given as examples that alterations of word-order are also commonly involved. A given particle is used once only in a sentence.

a) /i/

/i/ is the commonest of the particles: it emphasizes a preceding phrase more than the simple raising of the pitch, but without normally conveying any additional sense:

/ap i patæ mi/V105

'I have put it on myself.'

/raŋg vaṭavan na i kaḍāh maot chor sagdi e/J59

'Can death ever be avoided (just)
by dyeing (the hair)?'

Stronger emphasis is conveyed by the forward displacement of the phrase:

/tū kar i kujh nivhi sagda/A69

'You cannot do anything.'

b) /vi/

/vi/ is also very common, and is frequently used as a simple emphatic:

/kui vi tæda sath na desi/J55 'No one (at all) will assist you.'

/bhine vi dadhe se/N189 'We are very wet.'

But /vi/ often has the additional sense of 'also' or 'even' (7.12.e):

/tū vi šarab pivē ha/ 'If only you too drank alcohol.'

/šiše vic apne wujud de nal axtar da wujud vi mahsus karēdi/N142

'She would feel besides her own presence in the mirror that of Akhtar also.'

c) /jo ~ ju/

/jo/, weakened as /ju/, is distinct from the relative pronoun /jo/ 'who' and the conjunction /jo/ 'that'. Besides emphasis, it often conveys a sense of 'after all':

/thea jo malik/A8 'He is the Lord (after all).'

/dil vale putr de bal jo thyoni/N50

'They are your favourite son's children (after all).'

/tæde kite kišale jo kaṭe him/N352

'I've had enough troubles on your account (after all).'

d) /tā ~ tĀ/

/tā/, weakened as /tĀ/, is distinct from the conjunction /tā ~ tĀ/ 'then'. It usually emphasizes the first element in a sentence, sometimes with a sense corresponding to 'well':

/o tā tuhaḍi nani da ghar e/N94

'(Well,) that is your granny's house.'

/farhat da tā dadha ruh ha avan da/N47

'(Well,) Farhat really wanted to come.'

/gəi tã vasal paṭaṇ hai/A73 '(Well,) she had gone to get up
the onions.'

But /tã/ at the end of a sentence has a quite different sense:

/xabardar jo agū te mædi kahī šæ kū hath layo tã/N113

'Mind you don't touch any of my
things in future (or else)'

/tã/ may be used in the same sentence as /vi/, which will mark
the more prominent emphasis:

/e tã he vi sac/N307 '(Well), this is true.'

e) /hã/

/hã/ is used only with the imperative, with the sense of 'just':

/mækū socan de hã/N19 '(Just) let me think!'

/kahī vele pæ kū bhej hã/N44

'(Just) send your husband some
time!'

f) /ca/

/ca/ is commonly used with tr. verbs in main verbal phrases.
With tenses other than the imperative /ca/ often implies sudden
action, sometimes casual action:

/sidhi tarāh nā dāsa ca ū māšin da/N62

'Tell me the name of that
machine properly!'

/nazu sir nivaya ca/N158

'Nazu (suddenly) lowered her
head.'

/e musibat gal pato ca/N114

'You landed yourself with this
misfortune (for no reason).'

/ca/ may precede the main verb, in which case it is the preceding
word which will be raised in pitch:

/mūh val paka ca kitus/N62

'She (quickly) composed her
features.'

/ca/ may be used in the same sentence as /tã/ and /vi/, which
marks the most prominent emphasis:

/bhane thā vic val vi šæ diti tã hene ca/N152

'Even so, in this broken dish
they have given something (for
whatever reason).'

negative answer:

/saku bhala koi itraz e/N67 'Should we have any objection?'

/ide vic šukrie di bhala kerhi galh e/N142

'What (on earth) is there to be thankful for in this?'

/bhala/ may be strengthened as /vi bhala/:

/e vi bhala thi sagdæ/N158 'Can this possibly happen?'

j) /thola ~ thoṛa/

Also used in questions, though less frequently than /bhala/, these emphatics convey an ironical sense:

/tū saṇ ūde balā di nukrani tholi hē/N34

'Are you, mistress, the servant of his children?'

/thola ~ thoṛa/ are also adjectives meaning 'a little, few'.

1) /dekhā/

/dekhā/, lit. 'let me see', is often used as an emphatic particle in colloquial speech to convey a sense of doubt or vagueness to the utterance:

/ma mædi dekhā tā mædi tiari nī karvēdi skul di/N94

'(Well,) my mother doesn't get me ready for school (somehow).'

8.8 COMPOUND SENTENCES

In all but the most formal styles, simple sentences are most commonly grouped into larger units of discourse in simple paratactic sequences. Sequences of two or more simple sentences may, however, also be linked in various ways to form clauses in compound sentences.

8.8.1 Simple co-ordination

This is the most usual method of forming compound sentences. The second clause is linked to the first by a co-ordinating conjunction (symbol: +), such as /te/ 'and', /par/ 'but', /ya/ 'or':

/nazu javab dīta, te nuḥat ukū ca te andir laḥgh gai/ N96

S D V , + S O - A A V

'Nazu answered, and Nuzhat, picking her up, went inside.'

/mæ̃ ū kū rukēdi rahi, par ū mæ̃de valdæn kū tar de diti/ V35
 S O V ,+ EO D V

'I kept stopping her, but she
 sent my parents a telegram.'

When the subject of the second clause is the same as that of the first, it is often omitted (symbol: []):

/Axītar kujh der tāī tækxi di intazar kiti, par naumed thi te perā
 E A D V ,+ [] C- -A A
 tur pya/ N140
 V

'Akhtar waited some time for a
 taxi, but losing hope he set off
 on foot.'

Frequently the subject in the second clause is expressed as a suf.
 in the verbal phrase:

/nuzhat khuldīyā hoyā bheṇ kane muafi maṅgi, te ukū sara hal
 E A O D V ,+ O D
 sunayus/ N77
 VS

'Nuzhat laughingly begged her
 sister's pardon, and told her all
 about it.'

Each clause may be introduced by pairs of co-ordinating
 conjunctions (3.6. a). Repetition of identical or similar elements
 in the second clause is usually avoided:

/hike sigraṭ pi, hīke cah/ 'Either have a cigarette, or some
 + D V ,+ D [] tea.'
 /hik ghar kanū pare ham, dujha e parēsaniā/ V35
 + A V ,+ S []

'In the first place I was far from
 home, secondly (I had) these
 worries.'

In informal styles particularly, however, some of the functions
 of sentence-ordering exercised by conjunctions are assigned to
 certain emphatic particles. Simple sentences are arranged in
 paratactic sequence, but connexions between them are indicated by
 emphatic particles after the first element in each. The use of /vi/,

in a purely connective sense, and of /tā/, with a slight adversative sense, is particularly common. Emphatic particles are symbolized as *:

/mæ hun vādi ā. roṭi vi ca vāñi e khuh te. mækū tā roz da iho

S A V . D * C VA O * S

pandh vi bhuni vāḍæ./ N57

* V

'I'm going now. (And) I have to take the food to the well too. (But all the same) going out there every day is exhaustingly hot.'

8.8.2 Simple subordination

Actions subordinate to the action denoted by the main verb are most frequently expressed in all styles by the use of a subordinate verbal phrase as adverbial to the main verbal phrase (7.12).

While subordinate clauses, introduced by a subordinating conjunction (3.6. b), are commonest in formal styles, the simpler types are frequently employed in all contents. The commonest subordinating conjunctions are /jo/ 'that', /krūjo/ 'because', /tājo/ 'so that' and /nhī tā/ 'otherwise'. The clauses which they introduce normally follow the main clause to which they are subordinate:

/tuhakū malum he, jo Aj mæ kia vaz karāṇ vala hā/ V22

O C V, + A S D- -C V

'Do you know what sermon I am going to preach today?'

/ū kū hath na lavē, krūjo ūde vic zahar e/ V23

O D V, + A S V

'Don't touch it, because there is poison in it.'

/ṭhaḍe vele nikṛl jūlū, nī ta tibrā tā bhun ghatesm/ N53

A V, + S * V

'Let's go off while it's cool, otherwise the dunes will be burning hot.'

/tājo/ regularly presupposes a clause with verb in pr. subjunctive:

/e kitab binhā kū samjhavan kite likhi gai e, tājo e kam karāṇ

S O- -A V , + S

vale lok avam kū zuban di asliat samjha sagin/

O D V

'This book has been written for others, in order that people engaged in this task may be able to explain the real nature of the language to ordinary people.'

Other subordinating conjunctions also presuppose a pr. subjunctive verb, including /jo/ in some uses:

/o vi na cāhde han, jo māe kalij vic daxla ghinā/ V34

S * V , + S A D V

'They too were unwilling that I should be admitted to college.'

But, especially in informal styles, reported statements are more frequently presented as direct speech in parataxis than as subordinate clauses introduced by /jo/.

8.8.3 Parallel clauses

There is a marked fondness in all styles for the parallel ordering of elements in connected clauses. This pattern is applied to several types of subordinate clause, which precede the main clause.

The most frequent of such subordinate clauses are relative clauses, typically introduced by a relative pronoun (symbol: >), which is paralleled in the main clause by an answering demonstrative pronoun (symbol: <). As in clauses introduced by pairs of co-ordinating conjunctions (8.8.1), the repetition of elements in the second clause is usually avoided:

/jerha kujh multan ic parhda rehā, o uthāi visar ayā/

D > A V , < DA V

'Whatever I was studying in Multan, (that) I have forgotten.'

/jerhi galh vi dardmand dīl kanū nīkle, o apṇa asar kite binā

S > * A V , < SD- -A

nhī rāh sagdi/ V63

V

'Whatever issues from a grief-stricken heart, (that) cannot but produce its effect.'

The same type of parallelism is usual in clauses introduced by relative adverbs (3.2):

/ūdi hadiē da karah̄g jithā saṭēde han, uthahū harkat kar te val

D A> V ,[s]<A D- -A A

ap̄ni maṣuka de samh̄e a v̄ēda ha/ V45

A V

'Wherever they cast its skeleton, it used to come back (from there) again before its beloved.'

The usual answering demonstrative may sometimes be omitted from the main clause:

/jivē jivē d̄īh guzarde ḡæ, sadi muhabbat vadhdi rahi/

A> S V ,<[S V

'As the days passed, (so) our love increased.'

The order of the clauses may also be reversed, with the relative pronoun or adverb introducing a following subordinate clause, like those introduced by a conjunction (8.8.2):

/x̄oda ū saṛak baṇavaṇ vale te chā kiti hui e, jerha ap̄na kam

E A> D V ,<S D

karēda p̄æ/ V23

V

'God has bestowed shade upon (that) road-maker, who is doing his work.'

This parallel construction of relative clauses, in either order, with clauses containing a demonstrative is much commoner than the construction of the relative clause as a post-modifier of the noun (as in English):

/haji nusratullah xan sahib, jerhe jo hazrat xaja akil muhammad

S ,<S (+)C

sahib de xalifa han, ap̄ni akhī nal e manzar d̄īṭha ha/ V45

V ,A D V

'Haji Nusratullah Khan, who was the successor of Khwaja Aqil Muhammad, saw this sight with his own eyes.'

/jerhe jo/ has a redundant conjunction as its second element, like U P̄ /jo ke/.

The use of a demonstrative in the main clause to anticipate a relative in a succeeding subordinate clause is also common when the second clause is introduced by a conjunction:

/ū tā har šair ḥusanparast hōdæ, par hazrat xuram ī bare kujh

A>* S C V ,+ S A C

ziada i purjoš han/ V27

*

V

'(Of course,) every poet is a lover of beauty, but Khurram was rather extreme in this respect.'

/itfak ihojehā thea, jo acacet najma a gai/ N211

S C> V ,+ A S V

'It turned out (in such a way) that Najma suddenly arrived.'

Two other very common types of subordinate clauses involving parallel constructions are introduced respectively by /jerhe vele/ 'when' (and its synonyms) and by /je ~ jekar/ 'if'. Such clauses normally precede the main clause, like the most usual type of relative clause, and normally presuppose a main clause introduced by the conjunction /tā/ 'then':

/ūde jele māe afsane sunye, tā mæda sah mukla gya/ V35

D- > E -D V ,< S V

'When I heard his stories, (then) the breath left my body.'

/je tū ādō, tā āsā kaṭhe jūde/

> S VS ,< S A V

'If you had come, (then) we would have gone together.'

In both types the anticipatory marker in the subordinate clause is frequently omitted, especially in informal styles:

/dithus, tā o makhi hai/ V23

VS ,< S C V

'(When) he looked, (then) it was honey.'

/tū navhē āda, tā pæhle dāsaē ha ca/

S V ,< A V *

'(If) you weren't coming, (then) you should have told us first.'

/tā/ is sometimes omitted in favour of the marker in the first clause, but this is less frequent.

In informal styles, again, the use of two clauses without markers in apparent parataxis is frequent in contexts which demand the first clause to be interpreted as logically subordinate to the second. The subordination of the first clause is often indicated by the use of characteristic tenses, principally the pr. subjunctive and the conditionals I and II, and the logical connexion may be indicated by the use of an emphatic particle, usually /tā/, in the main clause:

/tū na āda, asā tæda intazar tā na karū ha/

S V , S D * V

'(If) you hadn't come, we
wouldn't have waited for you.'

/tū mokrī ya na mokrī, mā ivē ghinsā/ A13

S V + V , S A V

'(Whether) you refuse or not,
I'll take it all the same.'

/Alah kare na kare, tū tā kiti bæthi e/ V107

S V [+]V , S * V

'(Whether) God does so or not,
you (certainly) have!'

8.9 STYLES

It has hitherto been necessary to refer in a rather loose fashion to different styles of language and their implications for the choice of alternative sentence patterns, since styles can only be defined more precisely by the provision of ample samples of connected discourse. Unfortunately, however, an adequate illustration of the range of possible styles, as was originally projected, would have led to an impractical increase in the length and cost of this book, and it has therefore been necessary to curtail the description to brief illustrations of the most important types of style.

8.9.1 Formal styles

Formal styles are normal in most types of abstract writing and in formal public speaking. While formal styles are in fact the least commonly employed overall, they have a special importance as most clearly embodying the kind of language which is looked to as a standard of correctness.

The following sample illustrates the most salient features of the formal style in its written form. These include a strict maintenance of the 'normal' order of phrases in a sentence, with V always last and S usually first, the connexion of sentences by conjunctions, and the expression of many subordinate ideas in complex nominal and adverbial phrases. The free use of the periphrastic passive in V is also typical.

The formal style is naturally heavily influenced by U, the official and standard written language, and the extensive use of abstract nouns and adjectives drawn from Arabic or Persian is a typical imitation of formal U usage. It is, however, to be noted that these are to some extent balanced by the use of distinctively native elements, such as nominal doublets: this too is typical of the formal

style and serves to mark a conscious independence from the obvious model of U. The passage is written in C.

/carxe di alamat de samjhaṇ kite ū vele de muašre kũ samhṇe
 A O- -A-
 rakḥṇa posi. e muašra dur daraz dīā dīhatā ic Aj vi maojud e,
 -C V . S A A * C V,
 te bavujud madiatparasti di rel pel de kai mudat taī zinda rahsi.
 + A A C V .
 ū zamane naojavan dhiā kũ carxa katan caki pihan te ghar de
 A O A-
 kam kar ic masruf rakhya vāda ha. xavind kũ næb xoda da
 -C V . O S
 darja dīta vāda hai, te ūdi xūši te raza ic apni xūši te raza kũ
 V , + A O
 zam kar dīta vāda ha. ma piu da e faraz ha, jo dhi dhiṇ kũ
 V . S > V , + O
 xanadari di tarbiat de nal nal xavind di xidmatdari te
 A D
 itatguzari de sabak devin. phuḥar te xanadari tũ navakīf larḥi
 V . O
 kũ sas tane de de ke šarminda karēdi hai, jo ma piu de gharũ
 S A C V , + A
 kia sikh ke ai ē. atan huk muštarka thala ya sahan hōda ha, jithā
 D- -(V) V . S C> V , <A
 verhe dīā parniā kũariā chorhī te vadīā mil ke carxa katēdiā
 S A D V
 hæn, te ī tarāh sehatmand mukable di faza barkarar
 , + A S C
 rāhdi hai./J44-5
 V

'In order to understand the symbol of the spinning-wheel, it will be necessary to have before one (a picture of) the society of that time. This society exists even to-day in remote villages, and in spite of the onrush of materialism will continue to survive for a considerable period. At that time young girls were kept busy in spinning, grinding and household tasks. The husband was given the

rank of deputy to God, and their happiness and contentment was embraced by his happiness and contentment. It was the duty of parents to instruct their daughters in the lesson of service and obedience to their husband, along with their training in housekeeping. A mother-in-law would put a slatternly and undomesticated girl to shame by tauntingly asking what lesson she had learnt before leaving her parent's home. The spinning-bee was a common yard or area, where the married and unmarried girls of the compound would join with their elders in plying the spinning-wheel, and in this fashion an atmosphere of healthy competition would be maintained.'

8.9.2 Informal styles

Informal styles are both much more frequent in use and, correspondingly, more varied in type than the formal, since different styles characterize different speakers and the various contexts in which they interact. In order to mark the contrast with the formal style of the preceding extract as strongly as possible, a passage of dialogue between two countrywomen has been chosen to illustrate the informal style.

Principal points of contrast are the much shorter sentences and phrases, the freedom of word-order, the general preference for parataxis over subordination, and the extensive use of emphatic particles and verbs + suf. In vocabulary too there is no use of the imperfectly naturalized loans that are so prominent a feature of the formal style.

It must be noted that the passage has been taken from a novel, and the language must be regarded as subject to literary shaping, but it is just as likely that this has been done in the direction of exaggerating the informal features as of diminishing them: for the narrative sentences with which the passage begins, and which recur at intervals, contrast with the dialogue in their closer approximation to the formal style, both in structure and vocabulary. In other contexts, of course, as in the conversation of educated townsmen, different styles between the extremes of formality and informality are possible.

The passage is written in C, with some S forms also.

/kɪtni cahi adāt hōdi e zālī vic hākal maraṇ di, te e tā vastīā da

C V A- -S , + S * C

rivaj e, jo jerhle hīk aorat bæ de ghar vāsi, tā thale kane hākal

V, + > S A V , < A O

zarur maresi. bhavē dekh kiū na ghine, jo ghar vali andir

A V . > V , + S A

bæṭhi e, par niki suki hākal maraṇ kane na rahsi.

V , < D- -A V .

/'Andir a pai, ři bibi, mǣ zari rudhi bæþi ā.' mariam andrū

A V ,! ,S A V . E A

javab dita. 'Aři bhæři, Aj tā sara dīh mǣde ghar vi nivhē ai.

D V . ! ,A * A A * V .

ejha vi kehā kam an pai.' mariam andir varḍyā hoyā puchya.

S * VS . E A V .

'kia karā, bheṇa. ratoki bhira tǣda e niki ca æ. sara dīh ukū

D V ,! . A S O V . A D-

dhavavaṇ khavavaṇ te sumhavaṇ vic rudhi ræh gai ā.' mariam

-A V . E

apni majburi zæhir kiti.

D C- -V .

/'mǣ vi tiar tā saver di thivaṇ pai ā, jo vaṇ te niki kū dekh avā,

S * C * V ,+ (V) O V ,

par kam kane vād nī mildi.' vasai puršaok nazrā nal ede ode

+ A S V . E A A

dītha. 'kide gai e tǣdi dhi.' mariam kane vasai puchya.

V . A V S . O E S .

/'ede gaṅgoṭi vic suti pai e. dupahrā da khir pi te tā suti e. pasa

A A V . D- -(V) * V . D

vi patra nisi dītha.' mariam gaṅgoṭi vicū nazu kū kadhēdyā hoyā

* VS . E A O- -A

akhya.

V

/'Aři bismillah.' vasai nazu kū ūde hathā vicū ghindyā hoyā akhya.

! . E O- -A- -A V .

'šala nazar na laḡis. eda soṇha bal vasti vic kahī da vi kænhi.

! S VS . S A C * V .

alah kare, baxši hoi thivi.' vasai nazu kū piar dēdyā hoyā akhya.

S V ,C VS . E O- -D- -A V .

'mariam, surme da ŭika zarur laya kar, kui nazar na mar ghinis.'

! ,D A V ,S D VS .

vasai ūde ḡolabi raṅg te patle patle naḡṡ næn kū dekh te akhya.

E O- -(V) V .

'ḡindi ḡindole di kivē kito.' vasai val puchya.

D [A] VS . E A V .

/mædi šadi de bad ma mædi ḡindriā ḡindole baṇēdi ræh gai

A S D V

dotriā kite. ālah apṇi ālad tā na diti. īde kam āde pæn, te cole

A . E D * V . A V ,+ D

dale mæ xad baṇesā.' mariam thoṛe mūjhe āla nal galh kiti.

S V . E A D V .

/'piu di vi dīl hīs, ya kænā.' vasai puchya.

S * VS,+ V . E V .

/'o tā, amā, sadke ghole thīdæ. ratoke ca te aæ, zari āram nisi

S *, I , C V . A (V) V , D VS

kita. yaka cati te bæṭha ræh gæ.' mariam javab dita.

. A (V) V . E D V .

/'nā kia is.' vasai savalia andaz vic puchya.

S C VS. E A V .

/'nazu. piu kū iho nā bhā geus. mæ tā kū bea nā rakhā ha.'

C . O S VS . S * D V .

mariam laparvahi nal javab dita./ N23-25

E A D V

'What a good practice it is when women call out to one another! It is of course a village custom that when one woman goes to another's house she will always be sure to call out from the yard: even though she may see that the woman of the house is in, she will never fail to give some sort of call.

'Come on in then, dear, I'm rather busy!' Mariam replied from inside. 'You wretch, you haven't come to my house all day to-day. What on earth was it that made you so busy?' Mariam asked as she came in. 'And what could I do, dear? Last night your brother came in with this little girl. I've been busy all day bathing and feeding her and getting her to go to sleep,' Mariam explained how she'd been tied.

'Well I started to get ready early to come and see the baby, but one never gets free of one's work.' Vasai eagerly looked about

here and there. 'Where's she gone, that daughter of yours?' Vasai asked Mariam.

'Here she is, asleep in the cradle. She went off after she'd had her milk at mid-day. Since then she hasn't stirred,' Mariam said as she took Nazu out of the cradle.

'Ah, bismillah!' exclaimed Vasai as she took Nazu from her hands. 'May the evil eye not strike her! No one in the village has got such a lovely baby. God grant you be allowed to keep her!' said Vasai as she kissed Nazu. 'Mariam, be sure to keep marking her with eye-black, then no one will strike her with the evil eye,' said Vasai after looking at her rosy complexion and delicate features. 'How have you managed for bedding and nappies?' Vasai asked next.

'After I got married my mother kept on making quilts and nappies for her granddaughters, but God did not grant me children of my own. Now they're coming in for her, and as for tops and pants, why, I'll make them myself,' Mariam said in rather a sad voice.

'Is her father fond of her too, or not?' Vasai asked.

'As for him, my dear, he's utterly devoted to her. After he came in with her last night he didn't get any rest. He just sat there all the time holding her,' Mariam answered.

'What's her name?' Vasai asked in a questioning tone of voice.

'Nazu. That's the name her father liked. I myself would have given her another name,' Mariam answered carelessly.

8.9.3 Poetic styles

Since most Siraiki literature is in the form of verse, there is a great variety of poetic styles, of which only one is illustrated here, in the form of a short lyric (*kāfi*) by Khwaja Farid (1845-1901), the greatest Siraiki poet. The example is, however, typical of nearly all poetic styles in that the choice and arrangement of words is subject to formal patterns of rhyme and metre, in this instance a rhyming line of seven regularly spaced accents with a caesura before the fifth. It is also typical in the freedom of word-order necessitated by these formal patterns, although this does not greatly exceed that which is found in the most informal styles, and in the preference for parataxis.

Other features shared with the informal style illustrated above are the extensive use of verbs + suf., and the almost complete avoidance of loans in favour of native vocabulary, although this includes some rare and obsolete items used for deliberate poetic effect. The use of the infix /-r-/ in /kalhira tedra kalra lagrum/ is also distinctive of this poetic style. There are other poetic styles, notably those borrowed from U, but including styles used in other poems of Khwaja Farid also, in which none of these features would be present, and which would thus approximate much more closely to the formal style.

The poem is composed in a rather pure form of S.

/mekū kalhṛa choṛ te

O- -C- A

vēdī kēde sāg.

V A .

'Leaving me alone, who are you going with?'

/katra mahaz kakes na ayo,

S VS , VS D .

layo hījar di sāg.

'You felt not a drop of pity, (but) stabbed me with the spear of parting.'

/thal maru da pāḍa sara

S VS C .

thisim hīk bīlhāg.

'The desert's whole expanse will be but a step for me.'

/je tāi nasē de vic sah im,

A S VS, rahsim tedṛi tāg.

VS S .

'So long as I have breath in my nostrils, longing for you will not leave me.'

/javan la di birhū sūṇayum

A E VS kanē dukhā di bāg.

A D .

'As soon as I was born, love sounded in my ears the call of grief.'

/sadke kite hī nīh kolhū

A khavim kalṛa nāg.

VS S

'Than this love to which I have given myself (it were better that) a black serpent should devour me.'

/choṭe vakt kware vele

A A lagrum tedṛa dāg.

VS S .

'When I was young and still a maiden, I was branded with your love.'

/mæ̃ hā kəṛhe baḡ di muli.

S V C

.

kai rol moe mæ̃ vāḡ.

S V A .

'What is so special about me?
(lit. 'what garden's radish am I?')
Māny have been destroyed like
me and died.

/ghummargher, farid, kapar de na tīṛ dīsīm, na ṭāḡ./ F68

A

,!

,

-A

+ S VS ,+ S

'In the eddies of this shoal,
Farid, I can see no place to land
nor post to aim for.'

CHAPTER 9

SINDHI SIRAIKI

9.1 DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF SiS

Siraiki has been established for several centuries as an immigrant language in Sind, where it was formerly also an important vehicle for literature.

The Siraiki-speaking groups in Sind, principally Baloch tribes, are of varied geographical origin: owing to their patchwork pattern of settlement there is much geographical blurring of dialectal features which correspond to distinct local areas in the main Siraiki-speaking region to the north. Speakers of C may live alongside speakers of S, and local correlations within Sind are difficult to establish. Both C and S forms are encountered in written SiS.

As would be expected in a situation in which speakers of an immigrant language maintain rather tenuous contact with the inhabitants of the original speech-area, SiS displays some archaic features, and retains forms obsolete in standard CS. There is thus less difference between the modern language and that of the poets of the 18th and 19th centuries: this fact makes it possible to include here a description of some obsolete forms encountered in older CS poetry.

Most Siraiki-speakers in Sind are bilingual in Sindhi. All varieties of SiS, especially the language of educated townspeople, are subject to Si influence, which increases markedly towards the south of the province: and with the present encouragement of the wider use of Si, this influence seems likely to increase further. Si influence is most marked in vocabulary, less in morphology and least in syntax: the common factor of Si influence provides an interesting contrast with the U P influences which predominate in the educated Siraiki of the Panjab.

Admixture of dialects, the retention of forms elsewhere obsolete and the influence of Si account for most of the distinctive features of SiS, although there are a few peculiarities for which none of these explanations seems appropriate. The following account summarizes the salient differences of SiS from CS with reference back to the detailed description of the latter in earlier chapters.

9.2 PHONOLOGY

Differences from CS are few, and are attributable to archaism or to Si influence.

9.2.1 Vowels (1.1-2, 4)

The vocalic system is phonologically and phonetically as in CS. Only in the speech of highly Sindhized speakers is the Si realization of /ʌ/ as /ə/ in all positions followed.

9.2.2 Diphthongs (1.3)

These are as in CS, but original diphthongs now regularly reduced in CS are often retained:

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----|--------|---|---------|
| SiS /hai/ | 'was' | vs. | /[hai] | > | CS hai/ |
| /hei/ | 'is to you' | | /[hei] | > | S hai/ |
| /koi/ | 'someone' | | /[koi] | > | CS koi/ |

The distinctive final falling diphthongs of Si, as in /jai/ 'place', /mai/ 'mother' or /bui/ 'smell', have no regular place in SiS: most speakers follow CS /ja ma bu/.

9.2.3 Consonants (1.6-8)

There are no significant differences from the inventory and phonetics of the CS consonants, which are anyhow very close to Si. The phonemic status of /h̃ñ/ is enhanced in SiS by loans from Si, e.g., /ʌ̃ña/ 'still, yet' vs. CS /ʌ̃j̃a ~ ʌ̃j̃ʌ̃ñ/.

9.2.4 Combinations of consonants (1.9)

Possible combinations again closely resemble CS, also Si, except that initial clusters with /s-/ in loans may be realized with the characteristic Si prothetic /i-/, thus /istrit/ 'street'.

The CS clusters /tr dr/ correspond to northern (Sireli) Si /tr dr/ and standard Si /t̃ d̃/. All three realizations are possible in SiS, although the simple retroflex is regularly adopted only by highly Sindhized speakers: thus SiS /candr ~ candr ~ (cand)/ 'moon' vs. CS /candr/. The retroflex alternatives extend the restricted distribution of /d̃/ (1.7.a).

9.2.5 Aspiration (1.12)

The complex rules laid down for the distribution and displacement of aspiration in CS generally hold good for SiS also, but there are differences of detail.

a) /ʌh/ vs. /ah/ (1.12.3)

The distinction between the two sequences is retained in SiS:

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------|---------------------|--|
| SiS /laḥaṇ/ | 'to descend' | CS /laḥaṇ/ | |
| /lahaṇ/ | 'to remove' | /[lahaṇ] > lahavaṇ/ | |

SiS often retains the sequences /-ʌhi- -ahi-/ vs. CS /[-ahi-] ~ -ʌhi- > -æhi-/.

b) pre-consonantal /h/ (1.12.4)

This is often retained in SiS where it is displaced to follow a voiced consonant in CS, thus SiS /keḥra/ 'who?' vs. CS /keṛha/: here SiS may be influenced by Si /kihiṛo/.

Typical also of much SiS is the final aspiration in many pronominal forms, thus SiS /kæh ~ kæ/ 'whom' vs. CS /kæ/ but Si /kəhi/.

c) loss of aspiration (1.12.6)

Omission of /h/ after an aspirate is common, as in CS. The reverse process, in which the aspirate loses its aspiration before /h/ (Grassmann's law), is characteristic of Si, and more frequent in SiS than in CS, thus SiS /itaḥi/ 'right here' vs. CS /iṭahī ~ iṭai/.

9.2.6 Phonological adjustments in loans (1.13)

Rules given for the treatment of U and E loans in CS hold good for SiS also, especially the marked tendency at sub-standard levels to realise plosives as fricatives, particularly /k g/ as /x ǧ/.

The numerous loans from Si in SiS constitute a special case. The phonetic structures of Si and Siraiki are in fact sufficiently similar for rather few adjustments to be required, except in the terminations of nouns and adjectives, where the very short final centralized vowels of Si are dropped by all but highly Sindhized speakers and final peripheral vowels are altered to conform with Siraiki patterns:

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| Si /goṭhi/ | 'village' | > SiS /goṭh/ | vs. CS /vasti/ |
| /bḍhaṇu/ | 'to hear' | /bḍhaṇ/ | /suṇan/ |
| /bhero/ | 'time' | /bhera/ | /vara ~ vari/ |

Si and Siraiki sometimes differ in their realization of recognizably cognate historical pairs, thus in many words Si /-r-/ corresponds to CS /-l-/ and SiS may follow either:

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Si /sorəḥ/ | 'sixteen' | > SiS /sorāh ~ solāh/ | < CS /solāh/ |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------|--------------|

Another instance is that of verbs with CS past ptc. /-na/ (9.5.5).

9.2.7 Script (1.14)

SiS is normally written in the Sindhi script, a specially modified form of the Arabic script different in both systemic organization and style of writing from that current in the Panjab. It is ideally adapted for the notation of the consonant phonemes of Siraiki, since these are shared with Si: letters for the implosives and nasal consonants are illustrated in the table in 1.14. Some Si spelling conventions are rather confusing, notably the lack of distinction between final /-n/ and nasalization, or final /-i/ vs. /-e -æ/, and the use of a simple retroflex to write what may also be retroflex/dental + /r/ (9.2.4).

9.3 THE NOUN

9.3.1 Gender (2.1)

A few nouns are assigned definitely to one gender in U P, followed by CS, but to the other in Si, usually followed by SiS, although some speakers may follow CS here too:

| | | SiS as Si | CS as U P |
|---------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| /ʌfsos/ | 'regret' | mas. | fem. |
| /kɪtab/ | 'book' | mas. | fem. |
| /dɪl/ | 'heart' | fem. | mas. (fem.) |

9.3.2 Declensions (2.4)

SiS follows CS case-endings, including the variant o. pl. /C-ā ~ S -ē/. Nouns of all major declensions may have abl. sg. /-ʌū/ for CS /-ū/ in some forms of SiS: this termination is commonest in central Sind, where the local Si dialect has /-ʌū/ vs. standard Si /-ā/.

Mas. nouns follow declensions I and II: as in S, declension III appears not to be found in SiS.

The characteristic Si f. pl. termination /-ū/ does not involve any extension of the restricted declension VI in SiS, probably because /-ū/ is reserved for abl. sg. Both in contemporary SiS and in the language of the older poets there seems to be a greater preference for IV over V than in CS: this may be due to analogy with the general Si f. pl. /-ū/. /ʌkh/ 'eye' has besides the V pl. /ʌkhī/, now general in CS, the irregular IV pl. /ʌkhīā/ as a common alternative: /ʌkhīā/, now quite obsolete in CS, is perhaps preserved by analogy with Si /ʌkhīū/. Apart from the infixing of /-ɪ-/ in such IV pl. forms, by archaism or analogy with Si, morphophonemic adjustments of nouns are as in CS (2.3.1).

9.3.3 Adjectives (2.5)

Black adjectives decline as in CS, but with a conservative preference for mas. o. pl. /-yā ~ -yē/ vs. the more usual CS /-e/. 'Unfast' adjectives are of doubtful status in SiS.

9.3.4 Numerals (2.6)

The few differences are directly attributable to Si influence:

| | | | |
|----|------------|-------------------|----------|
| 1 | Si /hikro/ | SiS /hikra ~ hik/ | CS /hik/ |
| 16 | /sorəh/ | /sorāh ~ solāh/ | /solāh/ |

Some speakers have /dæh/ 'ten' for CS /dah/.

9.3.5 Personal pronouns (2.8)

Quite distinctive of SiS are the 1sg. pos. /mada/ 'mine' and 2sg. pos. /tada/ 'thine': these are of doubtful origin, and are used alongside C /mæda ~ tæda/ and S /meda ~ teda/.

Expanded forms of 1pl. and 2pl. as /asahā to sahā/, often with d-ac. sense, seem more characteristic of the older poetry than of modern SiS.

Occasional use is made of the Si base /paŋ-/ for the reflexive pronoun: but this usually follows CS /ap/.

9.3.6 Other pronouns (2.9-12)

The demonstratives often have o. sg. /ih ūh/ with no emphatic sense (besides /ī ū/), yielding by metathesis of /h/ pos. sg. /idha ūdha/. The interrogative has o. sg. /kæh ~ kē/ and the relative /jæh ~ jē/: Si influence may be postulated (9.2.5). Expanded pl. forms in /-ahā/, often with d-ac. sense, are apparently obsolete.

The correlative pronoun appears now to be obsolete in SiS, but is extremely frequent in the older poetry.

The indefinite pronoun is very frequently /ko/, f. /ka/, pl. /ke/, as in Si, yielding the common compound pronoun /jeko/, f. /jeka/, pl. /jeke/ 'whoever' vs. CS /jo kwi/.

Of the correlative sets, /eha jeha keha/ vs. CS /kehā/ 'like what?', and /ehra jehra kehra/ vs. CS /kerha/ 'which?', are commonly used items distinctive of SiS.

Other variants from CS, such as /ker/ 'who?', must be regarded as Si loans of doubtful extension.

9.4 PARTICLES

The extensive use of Si loans here distinguishes SiS from CS. Only the most frequently used items are noted.

9.4.1 Adverbs (3.2-4)

Of the correlative sets /iē tiē jīē kiē/ are used alongside the synonymous CS /kivē/ 'how?', and /jes tɒl/ is a common alternative to CS /je tɒl/ 'as long as'.

Si also provides /konhī ~ kanhī/ as common alternatives to the CS emphatic negative adverbs /koinhī ~ kænhi/; this is to be compared with the SiS indefinite pronouns /ko ka/ (9.3.6). As in Si, it is the mas.-derived /konhī/ which is generalized, vs. the fem.-derived CS /kænhi/.

Other commonly used Si loans include /tɒmam/ 'very', besides CS /bahū/, and /ɒña/ 'still', besides CS /ɒjā ~ ɒjɒn/.

9.4.2 Other particles (3.5-7)

Besides the CS emphatic particle /vi/, SiS frequently has /bhi/ and, less commonly, Si /bɒ/. Modern SiS, though not the older poetry, generalizes Si /tɒ/ for CS /jo ~ (ke)/ 'that', as well as for CS /tā/, both as conjunction and as emphatic particle. Si /hao/ is used as well as CS /ha/ 'yes'.

9.5 THE VERB

The verbal system of SiS follows that of CS in most details, although a few features have been adopted from Si. Some very common roots agree with Si against CS:

| | | |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Si > SiS /bɒdh-/ | 'hear' | vs. CS /sɒn-/ |
| /hɒl-/ | 'go' | /cɒl- jɒl-/ |
| /sɒgh-/ | 'be able to' | /sɒg- ~ sɒhg-/ |
| /ɒth-/ | 'rise' | /ɒth-/ |
| /vɒn-/ | 'please' | /bhā-/ |

In a few other instances SiS prefers native roots, partially replaced by loans in CS, thus SiS /ɒla-/ 'speak' vs. CS /(\ɒla-) ~ bɒl- / < U P /bɒl-/.

9.5.1 Derived stems (4.3-6)

Causatives and passives are formed as in CS. Roots in /-ah/, obsolete in CS (9.2.5) are unchanged for pr.-fut., thus SiS pr.-fut. /lah-/ 'remove' vs. CS /lahe-/ < /laha-/.

Monosyllabic /a/-roots follow either C or S in pr.-fut. (4.6.4). /a-/ 'come' often has pr.-fut. /ɒo-/ besides /a-/, and /po-/ 'lie' has /pɒo-/ besides /po-/: S /ɒm- pɒm-/ do not seem to occur in SiS.

9.5.2 Infinitive and gerundive (4.8)

The endings /-an -na/ appear to be generalized after all stems, as in Si, i.e., there is no alteration to /-an -na/ after roots in /n (r) r rh/.

9.5.3 Catenative and conjunctive participles (4.9)

Disyllabic roots with initial accent may frequently retain unaccented /-a-/ in the catenative ptc., thus /nikal/ vs. CS /nikil/ < /nikal-/ 'go out.' Other catenative participles are formed as in CS, including /ʌhi/ < /ʌth-/ 'rise', like CS /ʌhi/ < /ʌth-/ . But /po-/ 'lie' has SiS /po ~ pao/ besides CS /pæ/.

Both C /kar ~ ke/ and S /te/ are employed as markers of the conjunctive ptc. in different varieties of SiS. The marker /karaḥun/, found in some older SiS for the emphatic conjunctive ptc. (vs. CS /karaḥi/), is of doubtful status.

9.5.4 Present participle (4.10)

The ending /-anda/ is sometimes added to a monosyllabic consonant-stem, by archaism or analogy with Si /-ando/, thus SiS /jaṇanda/ 'knowing', besides CS /janda/.

Si also provides a present perfective ptc. in /-dar/, but this is very rarely used in SiS.

9.5.5 Past participle (4.11-13)

The regular formation of the past ptc. is as in CS. SiS commonly has a perfective ptc. in /-yal/, analogous with that of Si, thus SiS /bharyal/ 'full' (vs. CS /bharya hoya/), which is uninflected, as a red adjective.

The various forms of the adverbial past ptc. (4.11.1) found in CS are all used in SiS also, as are the variant forms of participles in /-ea/ (4.12). Other irregular past participles (4.13) are mostly as in CS, but there are some common exceptions where SiS follows Si in preference to CS:

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|---|-------------|-----|------------|
| /ghin-/ 'take' | Si /gṛdho/ | > | SiS /gṛdha/ | vs. | CS /ghṛda/ |
| /bhaj-/ 'run' | /bhaggo/ | | /bhaga/ | | /bhana/ |
| /pṇj-/ 'arrive' | /pugo/ | | /puga/ | | /puna/ |

Other roots in /-j/ with CS past ptc. /-na/ (4.13.10) may similarly have SiS /-ga/.

9.5.6 Auxiliary verb (4.15)

Both C and S forms of the pr. aux. are employed in SiS, which also has similar contractions of the short forms. In addition to the full forms listed for CS, SiS also has expanded forms with base

, he-/ for all persons other than 1sg. and 3pl. These are probably archaisms, since they are sometimes encountered in older S also:

sg. 2 heī ~ haī

3 hei ~ hai

pl. 1 heū ~ hyū

2 heo ~ hyo

The past aux. may follow CS, with /hai ~ haī/ generalized for 3sg. mas. as well as fem., and with the distinctive SiS 1sg. /has/ besides CS /ham/. An archaic form of the past aux., now quite obsolete in CS, with base /ah-/ is also sometimes employed:

sg. 1 ahus

2 ahī

3 m. aha pl. 3 m. ahe

f. ahi f. ahīā

These forms are, however, commoner in the older poetry than in most current varieties of SiS. A negative /nahus ... / is also possible.

9.6 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The example of Si, which also has pronominal suffixes, seems to encourage a rather freer use of verbal forms + suf. in SiS than is generally to be observed in comparable varieties of CS.

9.6.1 Inventory

The only addition to the inventory of suffixes found in CS (5.1) is the 1sg.dir. suf. /-s/, a loan from Si used as an alternative to CS /-m/. But CS /-m/ is universal in SiS for the 1sg.obl., avoiding confusion with the very common 3sg.obl. /-s/.

This use of a 1sg.dir. /-s/ may be compared with the distinctive SiS forms of the past aux. /has ahus/ (9.5.6).

9.6.2 Stem tenses + suffixes (5.2)

SiS has distinctive forms for 3sg.pr. subjunctive and fut. + 2sg. suf.:

| | | |
|------------------|------------|----------------|
| 3sg. + 2sg. /-i/ | SiS /avΔi/ | vs. CS /avi/ |
| | /asΔi/ | /asia ~ S asi/ |

In pr. subjunctive at least, a 3pl. verb is differentiated in SiS:

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------|
| 3pl. + 2sg. /-i/ | SiS /avini/ | vs. CS /avi/ |
| 3pl. + 3sg. /-is/ | /avinis/ | /avis/ |

This is exactly parallel with the regular CS differentiation of a pl. verb + 2sg. or 3sg. suf. in the past or with the aux. (5.4-5), thus:

sg. /jithā vaṇai, uthā vañ mar/S2

'Go and die wherever you like!'
(lit. 'where it pleases you')

pl. /mede hath na hovini ha/S2

'Had you not had my hands (to support you).'

9.6.3 Past + dir. suffixes (5.3)

The only major difference is the use of 1sg. dir. /-s/, thus SiS /ayus ~ ayum/ vs. CS /ayum/ 'I came'. This is to be distinguished from the 3sg. obl. /-s/:

/dāh pæ kitus, Δla ... mar geus/S2

'He uttered a groan, 'God! I'm dying!'

Pl. suf., both dir. and obl., may be added to accented /-'a-/ instead of /-'o-/, as in some varieties of CS.

9.6.4 Auxiliary + suffixes (5.5-7)

The variety of possible CS forms is amply represented in SiS also, and the pr. aux. + suf. seems to be more freely used to form present tense + suf. than in CS, thus:

/iha bhi vadi miharbani te riæt pya karēdāī, jo izat Δbru nal
vañan pya dēdāī/S3

'This too is a great favour and kindness that I'm doing you, to allow you to go with honour.'

The neg. pr. aux. and neg. pr. aux. + suf. are used as in CS, but /nisi/ is freely employed as an emphatic negative with persons other than 3sg.:

/cul bhi nisi saghda/S2

'I cannot even move.'

3pl. past aux. + 3sg. suf. appears as /hanis/, besides CS /hanis/.

9.7 SYNTAX

SiS has few peculiarities of syntax, and phrases and sentences are generally organized as in CS. Only a few isolated points of difference from the description of CS syntax in Chapters 6 to 8 are therefore noted here.

9.7.1 Nominal phrases

Modifiers of fem. nouns in obl. pl. are sometimes inflected as mas. obl. sg., following Si:

/vədere usman de ʌkhī vic/S3 'in the eyes of squire Usman'

This corresponds to Si /vədere usman je əkhɪən mē/, and is to be distinguished from the occasional imitation of U in CS which involves a f. sg. modifier with a f. pl. noun (6.2.f):

/ʌpni ʌkhī nal/V45 'with his own eyes'

In both SiS and CS a f. pl. modifier is standard with a f. pl. noun.

9.7.2 Verbal phrases

A few compound phrases are formed differently in SiS.

a) pr. ptc. + /kar-/ 'make a habit of doing'

This is similar to the common use of the past ptc. + /kar-/ (7.8.2.d):

/rat kū a hvjre vic sumhda kar/S2

'Come and sleep in the room at night (regularly)!'

b) ger. + aux.

Whereas in CS the logical subject in this construction (7.11.1.a) is regularly obl. (E), it frequently appears as obl. + /kū/ (O) in SiS:

/tekū apē uvho xial karna ha/S3

'You should have thought of that yourself.'

Here SiS agrees with Si, which regularly marks the logical subject with /khe/, while CS (optionally also SiS) follows P, which regularly marks with /ne/.

c) ger. + /kar-/ 'promise to do'

This construction does not appear to be used in CS:

/maolu tʃage vale kū pañj rupæ devne kite/S1

'Maulu promised to pay the tonga driver five rupees.'

Also noteworthy is the frequent employment of the distinctive SiS perfective ptc. (9.5.5) in adjectival phrases, both as a modifier

and as a complement (7.11.d):

/fuzulxarci te halyal vadera/S3

'the squire who had given him-
self over to extravagance'

/jiē sabir bahar geal ha/S3

'as if Sabir had gone out'

Unlike the perfective ptc. of CS, it may be reiterated for emphasis:

/bharyal bharyal dīl nal/S3

'with overflowing heart'

9.8 STYLES

The same broad classification of styles as formal, informal or poetic which was established for CS may be applied to SiS also. There is, however, little use of SiS in formal contexts, and much less use now in poetic contexts than formerly: the poetic styles of SiS anyway show few points of difference from the brief description of these styles in CS (8.9.3).

Informal styles therefore assume an importance relatively greater than in CS, and an example of one such style is given in the form of an extract from a short story. Many features noted as characteristic of very informal styles in CS (8.9.2) are present here also, including the preference for short simple sentences in parataxis, and the free use of emphatic particles and of verbal forms + suf. Although there is less attempt to reproduce the freedom of word-order characteristic of most informal spoken styles in the dialogue, there is little approximation to a formal style in the narrative passages either: these patterns could of course be equally exemplified by similar types of writing in CS also.

While the language of the passage is predominantly C, it is distinctively marked as SiS by the use of special SiS forms and of Si loans: these are underlined in transcription.

/maolu hajam di cori thi gai. cor ape ae, ape gæ. par hajam de

S V . S A V, A V, + A

ghar kakh na churyone. hajam ha ġarib, so vicara ro dho cup

D VS . S V C ,+ S (V) V

kar bætha. ūhdi marzi nahai, tā ko polis vic firiad karije, par

. S V ,+ S- A -S V ,+

goth valyā akhyus, 'firiad kar, šæt koi bīla thi povai.' maolu

E VS , D V , A S VS . E

vicare mardyē jīdyē salah mani. kivē kare. 'Agū kandhi pichū

A D V . A V . S

bah' vala mamla ha. pulis de sur ta sujhde hanis, par raj da

V . S * VS ,+ S

hukam bhi jehi tehi galh nahai. rozi da saval ha. thive hajam,

* C V . S V . V C

te raisā da akhaṇ na mane.

+ D V .

/maolu ṭāge vale kū pañj rupæ devṇe kite. rais gaman xā kū nal

E O- -D- C V . O A

gidhus. sidhe ae thaṇe te. maolu vañṇaṇ nal subedar da nivir

VS . A V A . S A D- (V)

salam kita, par subedar koi javab na diṭus, na val ũ ḡarib de

-D V ,+ E D VS ,+ A

akh ca kar diṭhus. kiū dekhe, subedar jo thea pulis da, sindh

D- -(V) VS . A V ,S- * V -S ,S

rlake di pulis da subedar. tholi der kanū piche subedar sir cata.

A E D V

maolu kū diṭhus. rar kar akhyus, 'are, tū bæh rahyō. uthi, vañ,

O VS . (V) VS ,! ,S VS . V ,V ,

ūh mēh kū dhāva a.'

O V .

/maolu ḍakde ḍakde uthya. subedar di mēh kū dhavavaṇ calya gea.

S A V . O- -A V .

pichū rais gaman xā apni jah tū uthya. subedar de kan nal mūh

A S A V . A D

rala vañ akhyus, 'saī, hajam kū ivē na dekh. sakhya sāhja hei.

(V) (V) VS ,! ,O A V . C V .

bheṇsā kalh fajar kanū piche sir kha gya ha, akhe 'tū subedar

S A D V ,+ S A

sahib kane raliḡ jul.' mæda kujh na vañe, saī. tū jan tædi marzi.'

(V) V . S V ,! . S V D .

/maolu mēh kū dhāva bandur te an badha, t_A subedar val rar kar
 E O (V) A (V)V , + E A (V)
 akhyus, 'are, ghoṛi t_A āñā vñi khari e.' maolu hath badh akhya,
 VS , I , S * A V . E D- -(V) V ,
 'saī, tusā t_A mēh da akhya ha.'/ S1
 I , E * D [] V .

Maulu the barber was burgled. The thieves came and went unobserved, leaving nothing in the barber's house. He was a poor man, so helplessly bewailing his fate he kept quiet. He did not want any complaint to be made to the police, but the villagers told him, 'Make a complaint, maybe something will be done for you.' Reluctantly Maulu accepted their advice. What else could he do? It was a case of being between the devil and the deep blue sea. He knew the troubles the police caused, but his employers' order was not something to be disregarded. It was a question of his livelihood. How could he be a barber and not do what the squires said!

Maulu undertook to give the tonga driver five rupees. He took Squire Gaman Khan with him. They went straight to the police station. As soon as he got there, Maulu bowed and greeted the inspector. But the inspector did not answer him, or even look up at the poor man. Why should he? He was an inspector of police, an inspector of police of the province of Sind. After a little the inspector raised his head and looked at Maulu. He bellowed at him, 'Hey you, are you still sitting there? Up you get and don't come back till you've washed that buffalo!'

Hesitantly Maulu got up and went off to wash the inspector's buffalo. Then Squire Gaman Khan got up out of his place and went over to the inspector. Putting his lips to the inspector's ears he said, 'Don't look at the barber like that, sir! There's nothing the matter with him. The bastard's been on at me since yesterday morning, saying 'Come with me to the inspector!' It's nothing to do with me, sir. Anyway, you know your business best.'

When Maulu came back after washing the buffalo and tethering it to its manger, the inspector again bellowed at him, 'Hey you, the mare's still thirsty!' Maulu humbly placed his hands together and said, 'But, sir, you told me to see to the buffalo!'

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ABBREVIATIONS

a) varieties of Siraiki, and other languages

| | | | |
|---|------------------|-----|------------------|
| C | Central Siraiki | S | Southern Siraiki |
| E | English | Si | Sindhi |
| N | Northern Siraiki | SiS | Sindhi Siraiki |
| P | Panjabi (Majhi) | U | Urdu |

The acute and grave accents in the transcription of P words represent high and low tone respectively.

b) other abbreviations

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------|----------|-----------------------------|
| A | adverbial phrase | neg. | negative |
| abl. | ablative | O | oblique object |
| adv. | adverb(ial) | o., obl. | oblique case |
| asp. | aspirate | pl. | plural |
| aux. | auxiliary | pos. | possessive |
| C | complement | ppn. | postposition |
| D | direct object | pr. | present |
| d., dir. | direct case | ptc. | participle |
| d-ac. | dative-accusative | R | regular (past ptc.) |
| dnl. | directional | S | subject |
| E | ergative subject | sg. | singular |
| f., fem. | feminine | suf. | pronominal suffix |
| fut. | future | tr. | transitive |
| ger. | gerundive | V | verbal phrase |
| inf. | infinitive | vd. | voiced |
| intr. | intransitive | voc. | vocative |
| lit. | literally | vs. | versus |
| loc. | locative | VS | verbal phrase + suf. |
| m., mas. | masculine | VSS | verbal phrase + double suf. |

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